National Anti-Slavery Standard.

S. H. GAY, OLIVER JOHNSON, } ..... Editors.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

EDMUND QUINCY, Corresponding Editor.

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The Southern Press.

CLERICAL POLITICIANS.

OUR ideas of the purity of character and honesty of motive of the clergy of our country have been sadly weakened by the acts of many who wear the cloth, particularly in the Northern States. There are clergymen, not a few, who are forever finding great crises in our affairs as a nation when they feel called upon to save the State. They then leave souls to take care of themselves, and most impertinently attempt to steady the ark of the government, or to guide it in safety through storms and peril. These men, in the new character of clerical politicians, sow intestine dissensions, build the fires of fanatical zeal, arm brother against brother, pour the zeal of religious enthusiasm into the caldron of political bitterness, and thus do more mischief than all their example and precept for a lifetime in their legitimate sphere can possibly atone for.

They teach that human laws may be openly resisted—nay, that it is the duty of Christians to urge open warfare with the State, whenever its constituted authorities pass a questionable law—not a warfare for repeal simply, but of direct resistance to the execution of the law. Red republicanism never vented more anarchical doctrines than they preach; anarchy never had more fiery apostles than these misnamed ministers of peace. Placing themselves in the attitude of ambassadors of Heaven, they utter the language of devils, and give counsels coming fresh from the midst of the bottomless pit. Tell them the Bible does not square with their atrocious advice, and they are ready to forswear their allegiance to it, and to dethrone Deity himself if he teach a humanity not in keeping with theirs, or inculcates a charity which reproves their mad zeal. Like vultures, they pounce upon the dead, strip them of their cerements of the tomb, and hold up their decaying carcasses to the contempt of the world. No deeds of patriotism, no purity of character, no lifetime of noble service in the cause of their country and of humanity, no height of genius or nobility of intellect can save from denunciation the most bitter, railing the most terrible, if in one solitary instance the great and good has spoken or acted adverse to their ideas of right. The Nebraska bill has produced one of these clerical crises. The pulpit thunders with denunciations that reek of the spirit of Pandemonium. Taste and elegance are discarded to find harsher epithets and ruder language than the old English masters, or even the looser style of the political hustings, would justify.

As the ancient Saxon carried a burning brand from house to house to arouse the whole population to arms, these men, themselves flaming firebrands, flash their hellish light from hearthstone to hearthstone, throughout the free States, to kindle civil strife, to arm brother against brother, and produce such a shock as the world has not before felt. The Parkers, Beechers and Stowes, are up, and, like miniature volcanoes, belch forth fire and smoke, as though they were escape pipes of the infernal pit. The South is denounced as robbers, men of blood, unworthy of a place in God's creation. They mount the political rostrum, the lecturer's stand, and the pulpit alike, and in each their theme is the same, political agitation, resistance to the law in the name of religion and of God.

The round heads were stimulated by just such men, who thought murder in God's name and that of the parliament perfectly justifiable, who scrupled at nothing, and had no promptings of humanity or of charity.

Glad are we that such pestilent stuff finds no countenance in the South. Here purity, piety and learning combine to honour the church and bless mankind. Here, master and slave go hand in hand to the altar, and march on together to immortality. Here, the teachings of the pulpit respect the Bible on which our holy religion is based, and do not attempt to manufacture a God to suit political predilections or depraved and fanatical zeal.

We hesitate not to say that more danger is threatened to this nation from the clergy who will attempt to meddle in politics than from all other sources. Let it be a maxim with all who have an American heart to resist all such interference, whether it be open and undisguised as that of Northern pestilent priests, or secret, as is sometimes the case in other quarters, dictating the vote as a matter of faith, or assailing, adroitly and under plea of justice, the established institutions of the land.—*The (Carrollton, Mo.) Statesman.*

THE *Louisville Recorder*—a professedly religious paper—has a long article on the Clerical Memorial from Massachusetts, from which we make this extract:

The document above, as all perceive, is subscribed by ministers exclusively, and because they are ministers, and not because they are merely citizens—they protest not in their civil, but in there religious capacity. They seem to claim to be a privileged and peculiar class, somehow and to some indefinite extent of elevation, exalted above the common citizens of our republic, and may speak as others have no right to speak, and be heard as others ought not expect to be heard. There is something authoritative in their tone and very patronizing in their bearing, as if the American Congress ought to tremble at their rebuke, and be thankful that they have not been more severe in its administration. In other words, it has all the appearance of that priestly arrogance with which councils and synods were whilom accustomed to hurl their ghostly thunder at the head of heretical rulers and their people.

And will these ministers, from some source or other—either from the volume of nature, or of reason, or of revelation—condescend to produce the authority upon which they assume to speak, "in the name of Almighty God and in His presence," upon the subjects in their protest? Will they be kind enough to make good their right thus to take the name of the Lord their God? If they have told the truth, if they did indeed "protest in the name of Almighty God and in His presence," then to disregard what they have written in the document above is to disregard Almighty God—for their words are his words; and Congress and the nations in neglecting to hear them, will neglect to hear God, and perpetrate a sin as deep and daring as if they were to trample under their feet all the commandments of the Decalogue! Why, this document is as much inspired as any portion of the Holy Bible, and deserves a place in the sacred Canon just as much as the penitential Psalms or the Lord's sermon upon the mount!

We here record our protest against this "protest." Their claim to speak as the vicars of Almighty God to the American Congress on the Nebraska bill, or any other subject, is as empty and as arrogant—as abominable and as monstrous—the pretensions of the man of sin and son of perdition, sitting in the temple of God, assuming to be God. These ministers, too, we believe, all profess to be Protestants, and to hold in utter detestation the Pope of Rome; and yet no Pope ever more emphatically assumed infallibility, or ever, by "great swelling words," more explicitly claimed to be God's vicar, to control the temporal affairs of earth, than have these ministers in this remonstrance. And if unrebuked, they will not stop, we fear, with this remonstrance. If it be conceded that they do speak "in the name of Almighty God and in His presence" on this subject, they will no doubt claim so to speak on all subjects. Aye, more; if they tell us the truth in this matter, why have any Congress or constitution, or human legislation at all? Let all these things be given into the hands of the ministers of New England and of New York city. Surely it will be wiser, and safer and better, to obey the behests of those who speak in the name and in the presence of the infinitely Holy and Just One than to submit to the enactments of those appointed to make laws by the Constitution of the United States.

We have penned these remarks in much haste. If we can find leisure, in a few weeks we may recur to this subject again. It is one of no ordinary magnitude, and must receive attention without delay, lest, in this fast age of Woman's Rights and kindred movements, it may get beyond control. We simply conclude by advising ministers, everywhere, to let the dead bury their dead, while they themselves follow the Saviour, and especially like him preach the kingdom of heaven.

ANOTHER KICK AT THE DEAD LION.

THE work of demolition not having been quite completed by the attacks of Wendell Phillips, Lloyd Garrison and Theodore Parker upon the name and fame of Daniel Webster, a fourth crack-brain was brought to the stand, in the person of Ralph Waldo Emerson, who, mounting the tripod, whence so much lunacy has been promulgated—the platform of the Broadway Tabernacle—proceeded to put the finishing touch to the utter extinction of the memory among men of the late Senator from Massachusetts.

The particular friends of Ralph Waldo are talking the most ineffable twaddle about their pet and his speech upon that occasion; and it would seem that another Moses had come down from the mount, with his face shining like that of an angel, and too glorious to look upon. Think of a Massachusetts man writing, and a Massachusetts editor publishing, that that was only just a very little short of an inspired oration which attributed to the speeches of Daniel Webster "sterillity of thought," "want of generalization," and an utter absence of "a single remarkable sentence, or a single valuable aphorism, which can pass into literature from his writings!"

We do not blame this poor muddlebrain for his tirade so much as we do those who procured its utterance, and, by sanctioning it with their presence and afterwards putting it in print, seem to stamp it with a value and give it a currency it could not obtain without such aid. It is like stirring up an inmate of one of our lunatic asylums to rave, and repeating to the world all he says as gospel. This Ralph Waldo Emerson has been living in an atmosphere of intellectual fog for so many years that he has become used to it, sees the world and everything it contains through it, and thinks thick, talks thick in it, like a man in a dream. A crazier fellow lives not out of bedlam, and yet he has his worshippers and admirers, who seem to have much the same sort of veneration for him as the Musselmans do for the insane, whom it is a part of their religion to revere as something beyond their capacity to fathom.

The discourse delivered by this transcendentalist orator was one of a series called "Popular Lectures on the Subject of Slavery." If there was a paragraph in it, from beginning to end, that had any meaning, level to a "popular" comprehension at all, it has been most grossly misreported by the New York press. Such turgid sentences, such senseless periods, such pointless paragraphs, leading to nothing, informing of nothing, savouring of nothing, were never uttered before. And such a featherbrain to talk of Daniel Webster's lack of ability in writing and speaking, and the absence of "a single valuable aphorism" in all his writings!

Here is a specimen of Emerson's idea of a "valuable, aphorism." Speaking of the Fugitive Slave law, he says: "Laws are of no use without loyal citizens to obey them!" And here, again: "It is of no use to vote down gravitation or morals." And here, again: "Liberty is not cheap: it is the result of the perfectness of man;" and once more: "He who commits crime defeats the end of his existence!"

Truly enough has it been said of this unfortunate personage, that he is one of those who seem to be saying something, but the moment you would take hold of that something it collapses under your fingers like a soap bubble.—*N. O. Picayune.*

THE SOFT WORDS THAT TURN AWAY WRATH—NORTH AND SOUTH.—Nothing is to the Southern man more ludicrous than what he reads about the ferocious speeches which the hordes of this miserable faction have recently been making about their determination to "RESIST THE SOUTH BY FORCE." There are bold, courageous men in the Free States—hundreds of thousands of them—but they are not Abolitionists. A hundred Southern gentlemen, armed with riding whips, could chase an army of invading Abolitionists into the Atlantic.

They preach incessantly the violation of the law, they urge others to put down Slavery, yet they shrink with cowardice from the execution of their own commands.

Negroes have occasionally exhibited pluck, but we defy the most laborious antiquarian to find an instance of Abolition courage. There are well-authenticated instances of pugnacious rabbits, irritable guinea pigs, courageous tom-tits, and belligerent doves, but there never was an instance of an Abolitionist showing the least pluck in defence of his principles. When they desire an act of courage to be performed in their cause at the South, they send *women* among us to violate our laws, and to play volunteer and mock martyrs to their ferocity—as in the case of Mrs. Douglass, in Norfolk, now quietly ensconced in jail, with doors open to her bidding. At the North, acts of Abolition heroism are far from frequent and notorious. The latest exhibitions of Abolition manliness there have been in the hanging of straw effigies—two or three thousand valiant moralists and philanthropists furiously lynching a single bundle of wicked hay! Among honourable men Abolitionism has gotten no hold; for North, as well as South, Abolitionism is associated in the minds of men with timidity in everything but words.

Hence, when these poor creatures talk of "*resisting the South by force*," a fit of cachination, a shout of irrepressible merriment, almost rends the waistband of every Southern man. The idea of men who have never performed an act of greater courage than falling by thousands upon a single slaveholder, *employing force with the South—keeping Slavery out of the Territories by force*, is certainly rich—that merit it unquestionably possesses. Why, a hundred wild, lank, half-horse, half-alligator Missouri and Arkansas emigrants, would, if so disposed, chase out of Nebraska and Kansas all the Abolitionists who have figured for the last twenty years at Anti-Slavery meetings. Theodore Parker denounces them as a set of cowardly braggarts, with no more pluck than principle in their composition.—*Richmond Examiner.*

DEVOTION OF THE SOUTH TO THE COMPROMISE.—It is true, our people have manifested no excitement on the subject of the Nebraska bill, for the reason that no apprehension has been felt here in regard to the passage of a measure so clearly within the spirit of the late compromise, and so essential to the carrying out of the principles upon which that adjustment was based. Until now no one has doubted the final passage of Senator Douglas's bill, without which the principles of legislative non-interference with the institution of Slavery, for which the South gave up the geographical line of the Missouri Compromise, would be not only inoperative, but in fact abrogated. Those of the South who felt that we had suffered wrong by being excluded from the whole of California, but who had acquiesced in the late adjustment, in the belief that the establishment of the non-interference principle would be a substantial basis of a perpetual settlement of the Slavery question, more reliable than the line which the Compromise itself violates, have looked with confidence for the recognition of that principle by the representatives of the free States in the passage of the Nebraska bill. They expected resistance to the measure from the pestilent incendiary fanatics, known as Abolitionists, the enemies of the Compromise and of the Union, but they *looked with confidence to the patriotic, conservative men of all parties at the North to keep the faith plighted in the Compromise adjustment.* This reliance has been common among men of all parties at the South, who have with a unanimity never known approved the bill now before Congress. There is but one sentiment at the South—that of cordial approval of the measure.

We caution the *Post* and the Free Soil opponents of the bill not to mistake the quiescence of our people for apathy or indifference to the principle enforced in the Nebraska bill. Let them rather regard the quiet that pervades the South as an evidence of the unanimity of our *people in the support of a measure which Northern honour, justice and good faith cannot withhold.* For one we are unwilling to believe that the bill will be defeated. *If it is lost—if our confidence is betrayed—there will be an end to divisions at the South, and all hope and faith in compromises will be abandoned (!)—Savannah Morning News.*

THE IRISH IN AMERICA.—There is no class of immigrants to America which has proved itself more valuable in every way to the country than the Irish. We hear a great deal of their improvidence in Ireland, but see nothing of it in America. They are among the most industrious and hard-working of our population. What does not the United States owe to Irish labour? Of all the immense public works of this country, is there one which has not been constructed in great part by the labour of the Irish? They have furnished the bone and sinew to achieve these magnificent victories of peace, as well as the sanguinary triumphs of war. There is not a battle field in America which Irishmen have not enriched with their blood and immortalized by their valour. Their conduct in reference to the sectional agitations which have distracted the country demands especial praise. We never find them enlisted in the ranks of the Abolitionists, or *giving* their influence in any way to those disturbers of the public peace. They evince true, practical gratitude to the republic which has received them under her sheltering wings. John Mitchel is the embodiment of Irish sentiment in regard to Abolitionism. Every blow of his stout shillelah upon the stupid cranium of Abolition fanaticism is cheered with enthusiasm by his gallant countrymen. They have known too much of real suffering and oppression to sympathize with the imaginary woes of the well-fed, well-clothed and contented negro-labourers of the South. Such men are entitled to the respect and good fellowship of our people. Their conduct proves that they are capable of appreciating the blessings of true liberty, and of vindicating it in any way which circumstances may demand.—*Richmond Despatch.*

Selections.

REMARKS OF DR. WAYLAND,

At the Nebraska Meeting, Providence, March 7.

MR. PRESIDENT: I am not surprised to see so large a number of the citizens of Rhode Island assembled on the present occasion. On this spot was formed the first government on earth which proclaimed both civil and religious liberty to be the birthright of man. It is meet that, on this soil and in this city, a measure which proposes to violate the most sacred rights of humanity should receive its merited condemnation.

Before I proceed to consider this bill, I think it proper to say that, while I shall speak with entire plainness on the merits of the question, I shall avoid all denunciation of individuals. It is my good fortune to know and to esteem many of my fellow-citizens at the South, whom I believe incapable of performing an action which they see to be dishonourable or mean. I will go farther, and say that I have never conversed with an intelligent and right-minded slaveholder who did not confess Slavery to be wrong, utterly indefensible in itself, and the great curse that rests upon the Southern States. They have looked upon the subject in sad despair, hoping that a kind Providence would open for them some way of escape from an evil which was every year becoming more and more threatening. Such men—and they form a large portion of the best men at the South—will, I know, honour us for opposing this bill, and will in their hearts rejoice if our opposition be successful.

We have met to protest against the bill now before Congress for establishing the territorial governments of Nebraska and Kansas. The feature in this bill against which we first protest is, that in all that vast territory, now uninhabited by white men, either free or slave States may be organized at the will of the settlers. On the face of it, then, it places Slavery and Freedom on equal terms, and proclaims that freedom and oppression are looked upon with equal favour by the people of the United States. It is, I know, said that it is intended to have no practical effect, for that Slavery will never be introduced there. This, I presume, however, that no one expects us to believe. To suppose the universal agitation of this subject to be revived—an agitation so much to be deprecated by the South—and the reproach of violated faith to be endured, without an assignable object, is to suppose men to act without motive; that is, to be either idiotic or insane. We will not accuse reasonable men of this absurdity. I therefore consider this as a bill to establish Slavery throughout all this vast region.

Now, against this bill I protest, in the first place, because it proposes to violate the great elementary law on which not only government, but society itself is founded.

If there be any moral or social principle more obvious or more universal than any other, it is this, that *every man has a right to himself.* He possesses this right as a man, because he is a man, in virtue simply of his humanity. This right includes his right to his body and his mind, to his material and his spiritual nature. It is the foundation of all responsibility; for the moment I cease to have a right to myself, that moment I also cease to be responsible for my actions, either to God or to man. It is this right which distinguishes me from a brute; brutes are endowed with no such right, and we may lawfully enslave them, slaughter them, and feed on them. Governments are established and laws are enacted, not to confer this right—it existed before them—but to prevent its violation. It is the sole foundation of the right of property; for if I have a right to myself, I have a right to the product of my own energies, provided those energies are innocently directed—that is, not in interference with this right in another.

But assume the opposite, and what is the result? Suppose a man not to have a right to himself, and what is the consequence? Government is impossible. Every man becomes the prey of every other man. Right personal and right in property are annihilated by a single blow. Turks may oppress Greeks, Russians may trample on Turks, Austrians may deluge Italy or Hungary in blood, and no right is violated. Nay, more; you, Sir, may enslave me, or I may enslave you, the white man may enslave the black man, and the black man may in turn enslave and murder the white man, and all are innocent of crime. The rising of the slaves would thus be justified, and all cause for our aiding to subdue insurrection would be taken away. But it is needless to pursue a doctrine so monstrous. *Slavery is a sin against God, and an outrage on humanity. It deprives a man not of one or another right, but it violates that fundamental law of humanity on which all right rests. I would protest against this iniquity anywhere, in the name of humanity, and justice, and universal love; I protest against it here at home specially, when this outrage is to be perpetrated on soil of which I and every other American citizen are the sole and rightful possessors.*

Secondly, as an American citizen I protest against this bill.

Our government owes its existence to the assertion of the principle to which I have just alluded—that every man has a right to himself. The Declaration of Independence, that bill of rights which made us a nation, affirms, first of all, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." It was for this principle that our fathers contended in that prolonged struggle, the Revolutionary War. It was for this that blood was poured out like water at Concord and Bunker Hill, at Bennington and Saratoga, at Red Bank and Trenton and Yorktown. And when they asserted this principle, they asserted it of humanity, without excluding from it any portion of the race. This is abundantly shown by the writers of that time, who were also actors in the war of independence. To omit the mention of all the men at the North, it is sufficient to call to your recollection the names of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and, in fact, all the fathers of the Republic whose opinions were of sufficient importance to reach the present day.

The sentiments of these men were fully exemplified by the act of 1787. Slavery existed in several of the States. It was acknowledged to be at variance with the sentiments of the whole people, and in violation of the principle asserted in the Declaration of Independence. That it might be forever restricted within its then limits, and thus be more easily extinguished, all the territory then possessed by the confederation was declared to be forever free.

When the Constitution was adopted, the object for which it was formed was explicitly stated; it was "to *establish justice*," "and *secure the blessings of liberty.*" It is the recognition of this principle as the great object of our Union that gave this nation consideration among men. This we have always, it has been said, even obtrusively, claimed for ourselves. It is in this respect that we have held ourselves up in contrast with governments in which the rights of man as man were trampled under foot. It is this principle which has made the stars and stripes the dawning star of liberty to the civilized world. Abolish this, and there is nothing more to distinguish us from those despotic oligarchies in which a few declare themselves free, while they hold millions in bondage.

Now I affirm that this proposed measure is in the gravest sense revolutionary—far more so than if it enacted that the office of President should be abolished, and its place supplied by an hereditary monarchy. This latter might be done, and yet the great object for which the Government was established be maintained; but here the great object for which the Government was formed is not changed, but reversed. The particular manner in which the agents of a Government are to be related to each other and to the people is of far less consequence than the principle by which all their actions is to be directed. An insurance company is formed to protect buildings from loss by fire. It establishes laws and elects its officers. But if its objects be reversed, and it devotes itself to setting buildings on fire, it were vain to tell me that they elected their president in the same manner, or that the clerks and the president were not permitted to interfere with the duties of each other. Nor, were I an original member of such a company, could I, by any cry of Union, be persuaded to be a partner to their transactions. I should say, the object being changed, the association is dissolved, and I will be a partaker in none of your villainy. Now, I cannot but consider this measure as of precisely this character. We united to form a government on the principle of the Declaration of Independence and the preamble of the Constitution—namely, to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty; to illustrate to the world the truth that all men are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This bill reverses this principle, and makes this government declare that men are not endowed with these rights, and that our object is not to establish justice or secure the blessings of liberty, but to extend Slavery over the whole domain, and transmit it to our children as their heritage forever. The force of such a revolution is to dissolve the government itself; for when the essential element of a compact is reversed every contracting party is released from his obligations in respect to it. I therefore protest against this bill as revolutionary, and giving just cause for a dissolution of the Union.

Third. As a citizen of a free State, I protest against the passage of this bill.

This seems to me only one of a series of measures of which the obvious intention is to render the whole legislation of this country subservient to the interests of the slaveholding States, by securing, at all hazards, a majority in the Senate.

These measures it is painful to specify. I pretend not to enumerate them all, but I will mention only a few of the most important.

The purchase of Louisiana, though not made for this object, gave the first bias in this direction. It was made without constitutional authority, and furnished an illustration of the mischief resulting from the violation of a principle for the sake of an immediate advantage. Then came the Missouri Compromise. Here, for the sake of peace and the preservation of the Union, as it was said, the essential principle on which the government was founded was held in abeyance, and this territory, acquired from France, was divided, a part being conceded to Slavery, and the rest irrevocably devoted to liberty. It has always been said that this concession was procured by corruption. "We wanted," said John Randolph, "sixteen dough-faces, and we got them; we could have got sixteen more had we wanted them." Then came the admission of Texas. This was done not only without constitutional authority, but, as I think, in opposition to constitutional enactment. By this act an immense tract prepared for Slavery was admitted to the Union. The lamented Dr. Channing, than whom a truer friend to the Union never lived, declared, in his letters on "The Free States," that if ever this were done, the Northern States were bound at once to separate themselves from the confederacy. Next came the Compromise of 1850. *In this instance the free States were grossly insulted, and nothing could have carried the measure but the influence of a great statesman, who, by his conduct in this case, has left a stain on his reputation which even his former brilliant services can never erase.* A short time before, Florida had applied for admission to the Union, with a constitution riveting Slavery upon her to the latest time. When a question was made about receiving a State with Slavery so irrevocably interwoven into its constitution, it was indignantly replied that with this matter Congress had nothing to do; and that the Union would be dissolved if the slave character of the constitution of a State was made an objection to its reception. The next State which presented itself was California, with a free constitution. The reception of this State gave rise to an angry debate of six months, and she was admitted at last by a compromise. The remarkable terms of the compromise were—that California should be admitted into the Union, and, on the other hand, that *four* new slave States should be formed out of Texas; that a more stringent and reckless law should oblige the Free States to deliver up fugitive slaves, and, on the other hand, that the slave-trade, which, on the high seas, is piracy, should not be carried on in the District of Columbia.

Then came the measure which we are now considering. The territory covered by this bill is, in part, the same as was, by the Missouri Compromise, solemnly consecrated to freedom. It was so considered by Southern men. The measure was carried by Southern votes. It was considered that, in yielding to Slavery the territory south of 36 deg. 30 min., the North made a great concession for the sake of union. It is now proposed to nullify this solemn compact, and devote to Slavery a territory out of which some fifteen or twenty new States may eventually be formed. When these States are organized and added to those formed out of Texas, the character of the Senate is irrevocably fixed. The legislation of the nation is forever Southern; and Southern legislation is always subservient to the peculiar institution of the South.

When this has been done, this country, at home, will present a singular spectacle. The slaveholders in the United States are said not to exceed 300,000—call them half a million. *We have then half a million of men governing, in fact, thirty or forty millions. An institution unknown to the Constitution will be seen annulling and subverting the Constitution itself;* an institution by which labour is rendered degrading and despicable, legislating for men who respect themselves the more for earning their own bread. How long a union of such a character can continue may be easily foreseen. The question ceases to be whether black men are forever to be slaves, but whether the sons of the Puritans are to become slaves themselves.

Nor is this all. This change in the principle underlying the Constitution changes our relations to the whole civilized world. The great question which is henceforth to agitate the nation is the question of human rights. It has been the glory of this country thus far, to stand forth everywhere in defence of human liberty. It is the position which we have taken on this question that has given us our influence among nations, and taught down-trodden humanity everywhere to look up to us for succour. But establish Slavery not as the exception, but the rule—make Slavery the law of the land, the pivot on which legislation turns, and we must by necessity ally ourselves with despotism. *We expose ourselves to contempt even now by swaggering about human liberty, while a pious and benevolent lady is at this moment immured in a dungeon in Richmond for no other crime than that of teaching children to read. What will it be where such an act of oppression is sanctioned by the whole country?*

I value the Union as much as any man. I would cheerfully sacrifice to it everything but truth, and justice, and liberty. *When I must surrender these as the price of the Union, the Union becomes at once a thing which I abhor.* To form a union for the sake of perpetuating oppression, is to make myself an oppressor. This I cannot be, for I love liberty as much for my neighbour as myself. To sacrifice my liberty for the sake of Union is impossible. God made me free, and I cannot be in bondage to any man. These I believe to be the sentiments of the free States, and therefore it is, as a friend of the Union, that I protest against this bill.

But there is another feature in this bill which deserves to be considered. The consequence of its passage must be the destruction of the Indian tribes within the territory which it proposes to establish. These poor red men had already begun to cultivate land, and were advancing into civilization and Christianity, when in defiance of a hundred treaties, they were savagely torn up by the roots and transplanted to their present location, and in the removal one-third of their whole number perished. Every guaranty that could bind a moral agent was given them that they should remain unmolested in their present residence forever. They are now rapidly improving their condition. They have schools admirably conducted. Churches of Christ under the care of almost every Protestant denomination; they are introducing manufactures; and, in fact, will lose nothing by comparison with the whites in their vicinity. Shall these Christian men and women be again driven away? Shall the most solemn treaties ever ratified by the Senate of the United States be again violated? Shall an act of cruelty unparalleled in the history of civilized man be perpetrated, because the victims are weak and their skins red? Has no man any rights unless his skin is white, or has a just God given permission to white men to defraud and enslave and murder their fellow-men with impunity?

Lastly, I protest against the passage of this as a Christian.

It is my firm belief, Mr. President, the belief on which I rest my hope of salvation, that the son of God assumed our nature, and died for our sins, that we might escape the condemnation deserved by our transgressions. I believe that he died for the redemption of our whole race—for the ignorant and down-trodden African as much as for his haughty Anglo-Saxon oppressor. While on earth, he chose the lot of a poor man, and of an oppressed man, thus showing us that it was this class which shared his deepest sympathies. He came "to preach the Gospel to the poor, to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison doors to those that are bound." He himself died by the hand of oppression, and he has taught us that the poor and the oppressed are his representatives always remaining, and that we must manifest our love to him by charity to them. "Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the *least* of these, ye have done it unto me." "Take heed," said he, "that ye offend not one of these little ones." Taking Christ, then, for my example, and striving to imbibe his spirit, can I do otherwise than take to my bosom every oppressed and down-trodden child of humanity? Jesus Christ, my Master, is not ashamed to call them brethren, and can I have any partnership in an attempt to trample them under foot? The Union itself becomes to me an accursed thing, if I must first steep it in the tears and blood of those for whom Christ died.

But more than this. Hundreds of thousands of these black and red men, whose dearest rights are sacrificed by this bill, are, in the strictest sense, our *Christian* brethren. Some are Episcopalians, some Presbyterians, but by far the larger part are Baptists and Methodists. They sit down with us at the same table of the Lord; they are, equally with us, members of his body; they share with us the same gift of his Holy Spirit, and hope with us to be ever with the Lord. And can Christian men join hands with the oppressors of their brethren? Can we allow it to be declared in our name, as American Christians, that throughout this vast region our Christian brethren shall be delivered over to brute violence, and that it shall be made a crime to teach them to read the word of their Saviour and ours? Can we do this and hope to be forgiven?

And here let me appeal to Christians in the South. I have conversed with many of them on this subject. They have confessed Slavery to be wrong, and they have mourned over its blighting influence on religion and morals. They have told me, and I believe them, that it is their daily prayer that this curse may be removed; that they would cheerfully make any sacrifice for its removal, but that at present they see no way of escape from it. But, could my voice reach them, I would say, brethren, can you, as disciples of Christ, aid in extending and perpetuating what you know to be wrong? Can you pray God to remove Slavery from our country while you are seeking to fasten it upon the country forever?

Could I address Southern Statesmen, I would address to them a similar appeal. I have conversed with many of them, men of whom any country might be proud. They have told me that Slavery was the curse of the Southern States; that, utterly indefensible in principle, in practice it wrought unmixed evil in every relation of life, civil, social and domestic. I would say to them, can you, as lovers of your country, extend over this vast territory an insitution which you in private allow to be an unmeasured evil—an evil already so gigantic that you are utterly unable to cope with it? Nay, more, are you willing, in order to extend and perpetuate this wrong, to overturn the foundations of the Constitution and violate your solemnly plighted faith? Can you expect that after this we can look upon you as brethren? If you will trample on the essential principles of the Constitution, and annul a contract which you declared should be binding forever, in order to attain uncontrolled power over the free States, how may we expect that power to be exerted after it has been attained? If such things are done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry!

Once more. Could I hope that my words could reach the President of the United States, with the respect due to the Chief Magistrate of my country, I would address him somewhat in this wise: It has pleased Divine Providence, sir, to place you in the most responsible situation now held by any man on earth. It rests with you to decide whether this vast territory, comprising, it may be, twenty independent States, shall become the abode of happy freemen, or downtrodden slaves; whether man shall be recognised as a being formed in the image of God, or degraded to a chattel, he shall be sold in the shambles like the beasts that perish; whether in the conflict between freedom and despotism, for which the civilized world is preparing, the mighty influence of this great Republic shall be thrown in favour of the oppressed. You have the right to arrest this measure, as a grave departure from the principles of the Constitution, and a violation of solemnly pledged national faith. Let me, then, entreat you to look beyond the mists of passion that surround you, and gaze for a moment on that eternal justice which is the habitation of the throne of the Most High. Decide this question in such a manner as will be most pleasing to that Great Being, the elements of whose character are spotless holiness and infinite love. Can you as a patriot array your country in opposition to every attribute of the eternal God? Remember, also, that your life will have a page in this world's history. An impartial posterity will judge you by your actions, and will assign you a place with good men or with bad, with the benefactors or the enemies of your race. And more than all, you must soon appear before a tribunal where you can claim no precedence whatever over the meanest slave that the sun shines upon. The millions whose moral character has been affected for weal or for woe by your act will meet you there face to face in presence of the Universe of God. It is my earnest prayer that you may, by divine grace, be enabled to decide this question in view of these solemn realities, so that at that day you may review this transaction with joy, and not with grief, and that the plaudit may await you, "Well done thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

Fellow-citizens, I rejoice that this meeting has been held. Come what will, it will ever be to us an unspeakable satisfaction that, to the utmost of our power, we have washed our hands of this iniquity. Let us cease not to beseech the God of our fathers to defeat the counsels of misguided men, and if the worst shall come, that he will grant to the free States the wisdom, temper, patriotism, and union which may be needed in this grave emergency.

THE SOUTHERN PLATFORM.

WE have not recently seen, certainly not since the death of Calhoun, the southern view of the Slavery question quite so clearly set forth, and so comprehensively treated, as in the speech of Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, in the House, on the Nebraska bill, on the 5th inst.; and we know of nothing, just now, more entertaining and instructive to lay before our readers, who must not permit themselves to be deterred by the length of the extract—it is only an extract—we make from reading it. We copy from the Washington *Globe* of Friday last:

Now, sir, it is universally admitted that the Constitution of the United States itself had nothing in it to support these Anti Slavery views; on the contrary, every single provision in that instrument is pro slavery—that is, for the protection, and defence, and increase of Slavery. For example, one of them is that provision by which the slave trade was extended for twenty years, by which the Constitution expressly forbade Congress to put a stop to that trade for that period, and under which provision most of the negroes were brought into this country. That provision, it is well known, was adopted by the entire New England vote, in convention, with the aid of South Carolina and Georgia, against other southern and middle States.

But, Mr. Chairman, I admit that there are many opinions against Slavery expressed by individuals, such as Jefferson and others, as private persons, and which have been referred to in the discussion of this question. No man has more respect than I have for the opinions of the great men of that day on all subjects in which they were fully enlightened as to facts. I hold their authority on such questions as entitled to the greatest weight. But no man will pretend that the world has not made a prodigious advance in knowledge since their time. No sensible or enlightened man would go back to Benjamin Franklin, philosopher as he was, for information on scientific subjects, or adopt his views as to mechanics, electrical or steam machinery, in preference to many men of our day. But among all the great advances that have been made in human science—whether you take geology, chemistry, or any other branch of knowledge—the greatest advance, perhaps, of all has been made in the science of Government, and of the difference of the races of men and their adaption to different social institutions. In the last century, sir, many of the leading men of the country looked, no doubt, upon the negro as in every respect like a white man, except that, by some strange freak of nature, the former had a black skin. That idea no longer prevails. The whole doctrine of negro equality with white men has been exploded in our day, not merely in the South, but throughout the United States.

The people of Indiana and of Illinois have recently—and that, too, by an immense majority—decided against that equality, and have forbidden any negro to enter into those States. In the State of Connecticut, too, when the proposition to enable negroes to vote was submitted to the people of that State, a few years ago, the question was decided by a vote of nearly four to one against the negro; and they were refused the privilege of voting, *merely* because they *were negroes.*

New York has recently done the same thing. In fact, there is not a single free State, where the issue has been directly made on the question of negro equality, that the mass of the people have not decided against it; nor can it be made without the same result.

I happened, Mr. Chairman, to be in Connecticut when this vote was taken. I found that most of the newspapers seemed to be on the side of the negroes, and many of the literary men of the State, and they anticipated a triumph; but when the votes of the people came to be counted, the result was altogether the other way. Why, Mr. Chairman, if all the literary men on the earth were to argue that the rays of the sun were the cause of darkness and cold, they never could convince people who walk in this glorious sunshine, that their theory was correct. They might convince those who live down in the bowels of the earth—those who work in the coal mines of Great Britain all their lives. So, too, these Abolitionists may convince the people of England of the equality of the negro to the white man, because they do not see the negro, and, in fact, know nothing about him; but our Americans, who have seen the specimens, cannot be thus humbugged.

I say, sir, that the idea of negro equality no longer exists in the United States as a fact. I care nothing about theories, nor how this difference is accounted for. Some of our Abolition brethren, being soft-headed, and easily deluded on all subjects, for example, say that the negro is different from the white man because of the effect of climate, manner of life, and want of opportunity to become civilized, &c. All history and fact is at war with these ideas. The negro has been placed by Providence in that country and climate most favourable to his health and well-being, and his opportunities to imbibe or acquire the advantages of early civilization were vastly greater than those of the northern barbarians, from whom we have ourselves descended. They were, more than four thousand years ago, in contact with the Egyptians, the most enlightened nation of antiquity. Afterwards the Carthagenians, a highly intelligent Phœnician colony of white men, the first people of their day, overran all Northern Africa, and brought some of the negro races into subjection. Then came the great Roman Empire, which civilized everything else it touched, but made no impression upon the negroes. The Saracens, too, the first people of the middle ages who gave light to the Western European nations and who extended their conquests south of the Great Desert, left the negroes where they found them—savages.

A second class of inquirers as to the cause of the difference between negroes and white men take a Biblical view of the question, and suppose that, inasmuch as the descendants of one man were, by a judgment of the Almighty, sentenced to be slaves forever, that it is but reasonable and natural that there should be distinguishing outward marks in their organization.

The third class, embracing almost all the great men of science, hold that the negro race is specifically different from the white race. I care not what view gentlemen take, but the fact may be assumed as settled in the American mind, that there is a material difference between the negro and the white man. As Canning said, facts are stubborn things. There is *a higher law*, but it is the law of nature. When God Almighty implants his characteristics upon natural objects, man cannot change them. If a political system is in accordance with those natural laws, it will be successful. The American Constitution has been well framed in accordance with those principles. But, on the other hand, in Mexico and Jamaica, and in other places, where they have undertaken to upset the law of Providence, and to establish the doctrine of negro equality, nothing but mischief has been produced.

Since the time of our revolutionary fathers, these great discussions, supported by innumerable facts, have shaken the human mind to its centre, and brought it to a conclusion of which they did not dream. Hence their opinions are worth very little in this debate. Let no man, Mr. Chairman, suppose such topics as I am now discussing are abstractions having no real weight. These considerations, more or less, are constantly acting on the minds of men, and, in fact, are daily referred to by the opponents of the measure under consideration. In another point of view, too, there has been a great change of opinion during the present age. I speak in reference to the profitableness of slave labour, and the prosperity of slaveholding countries.

The free States have fifty-four majority upon this floor. Under the old apportionment they had fifty-one, a gain of three members over the South in ten years. Sir, during that time there have been about two millions of foreigners added to the population of this country by immigration, and nearly every one of these persons have settled in the free States. If, therefore, their increase by natural means had been

proportionate to that of the South, they ought to have an increase of some twenty members instead of three, especially when the admission of California is considered.

I refer to this matter to show that our population has increased more rapidly than even that of the free States, great and prosperous as they are. Our population is a productive one. We make abundant provision for ourselves as respects agricultural products generally, and are able to send a large amount of grain, &c., out of our territory, both to the North and to foreigners. In addition to all this, our production of cotton in some years amounts to nearly $150,000,000 worth; the sugar and molasses to nearly $20,000,000; and the tobacco, rice, &c., to a large amount. We thus furnish two thirds of the exports to foreign countries, giving thereby employment to the immense shipping interest of the Union and enabling our tonnage already to equal that of Great Britain. Do not these facts prove that our system of industry is one that is eminently productive?

Gentlemen may tell me that one cannot get as much work out of a slave as a free man would perform. I grant it. But they forget that among a free population a large proportion are non-producers all their lives, and that even the working classes are unemployed a great part of their time; and the young persons of both sexes are usually unemployed and, in fact, an expense, until they attain maturity. On the contrary, the negroes are almost all kept constantly employed in some way; and the consequence is, that these three millions of slaves actually produce more, probably, than the same number of free persons in any other section of the country. I do not mention these things to claim superiority for the South over the North, but merely to establish the equality of my section. You will find, too, that we have just as many Churches as the free States have, and fewer paupers and criminals than any country upon earth perhaps can show. These things are stated to show that our system is a prosperous one, and that there is no reason why this Government should be arrayed against it. I point to facts, also, that the negroes are, whether considered physically, intellectually, socially, or morally, superior to any other portion of their race upon the globe, whether in a state of Freedom or Slavery.

These are views of which little or nothing was known fifty years ago; but they are taking deep hold upon the public mind now, and statesmen and wise men will look at things as they are, and ponder well before they act in opposition to the evidences of their senses and their reason. The ways of Providence are wiser than the imaginations of men, and let us therefore follow where the facts seem to point. No man knows as yet what we shall be led to; but the opinion of the country is very different now from what it was fifty years ago; and what it will be a century hence, can any man assume to say? No, sir, but the wise man will be disposed to let these things alone; he will be disposed to let these matters work their own way in due time. Under the influence of excited feelings, and in pursuit of a single idea, men are sometimes carried to great extremes. For example, many of the Northern people say that Slavery must not be extended, but that it must be confined to its present limits. It will thus happen, say they, that after a time, for want of room, the slave population will no longer increase; and perhaps the low price of labour, and the want of means of subsistence, will induce the owner to liberate their slaves. They say that the condition of the present slave States will be like that of portions of Europe, where the population cannot increase, and where a bare subsistence can be afforded to the people in ordinary years, so that in a scarce year large numbers are swept away by famine. In this way they say the increase of slaves could be prevented. A not less effectual mode, however, would be to put to death the infant negroes from time to time. This too would be more humane, probably, than the other process, as the amount of general misery caused by a condition of things similar to that in Ireland during the years of famine, would doubtless greatly exceed that caused by the mode suggested. Intelligent men at the North of course know that the Southern States would not consent to submit to such a line of policy, and that the attempt to enforce it will merely overthrow the Government. In fact the amount of property now held in slaves, and the interests connected with it, are strong enough to protect themselves. In France, and other European countries, the strongest political systems that men could invent have been overthrown, from time to time, but the rights of property have stood all the storms of revolutions. So the interests which the South has will be strong enough to protect themselves—always, I hope, in the Union, but certainly out of it, should it ever become necessary. These considerations need not, however, enter largely into the present discussion. We stand on our constitutional rights, and the justice, both political and moral, of the proposition that every community ought to be allowed to regulate its own domestic matters. Adopt this cardinal line of policy, and the country will no more be disturbed with agitation about Slavery.

Mr. Chairman, there was considerable excitement produced in the House yesterday by a resolution which the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Campbell) offered in reference to the annexation of Canada. This movement will enable us to illustrate the practical effect of the pending measure. If the old system of bringing the powers of the Government in collision with the rights of the South, by restricting slavery, is to prevail, as Canada would strengthen the northern movement against us, we should be opposed to its annexation. But, suppose we adopt the opposite line of policy, and settle down upon the doctrine that every community shall regulate its own local and domestic affairs. Why, sir, the proposition for the annexation of Canada would be looked upon simply as a national question, as one in which the North and South were equally interested, and the advantages and disadvantages of the measures would be fairly considered by both sections. I am not by any means prepared to say that the time will not come when Canada, as well as many other provinces, will be annexed to the United States. I agree with the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Millson), that there is danger of too rapid expansion of our territory. I believe in the law of progress, but there may be such a thing as too high a rate of speed for safety. I admit all this, but must tell him that it is idle to attempt to prevent a forward movement. He might just as well strive to dam up the waters of that Niagara to which he alluded as prevent the expansion of our Republic. We must act wisely, however, and place ourselves in a condition to be benefited and not injured by these coming acquisitions of territory.

What ought we to do? Allow every portion of the country to regulate its own affairs, whether States or Territories, and turn our attention to those great national questions upon which the interests of the country demand our action? But in justice to myself, I ought, perhaps, to say, that while I would not hurry expansion of territory, yet neither am I prepared to say that the infant does not now live who may see all the country between Cape Horn and the Polar ocean of the north, united in one empire. I do not say that it will be so, nor am I prepared to say to what extent this confederation of Republics may be carried. We are in the midst of the grandest experiment humanity has ever seen; and if we do our part wisely, I have no doubt but that, under the favor of Providence, a fortunate result will be attained.

I have witnessed, Mr. Chairman, several of these Anti-Slavery excitements, and I have observed that when they are first gotten up, their power seems to be the greatest. The Abolitionists are well organized; they throw out their publications and statements all over the country at once, without being over scrupulous as to the truth and justice of their statements, and hence they hurry away the minds of the community for a season. Truth cannot travel as fast as falsehood, but in the end always overtakes her. Hence, after a full discussion and fair understanding of the subject, the excitement is shorn of its strength, and now dies out before the intelligence of the people. For example, when the question of the annexation of Texas first came up, the cry was raised that the whole North was dead against it, and that any who advocated it would be instantly crushed. Even after the matter had been adopted by the Democratic party in its convention at Baltimore on Mr. Polk's nomination, and even as late as September, the convention in New York, which nominated Silas Wright for Governor, passed a resolution against the annexation of Texas, though agreeing to support Mr. Polk also. And in fact when Congress met, even after the election, there was great opposition among Democratic members, but ultimately the great body of these gentlemen, with the aid of some few southern Whigs, came up and passed it. I have yet to learn that a single one of them was beaten on that ground. I remember also when the Wilmot proviso was first brought forward there were only six or seven gentlemen from the North who voted against it. We were told to take our last look of those gentleman; that they went home to their political graves. That was the language used then; but one of the preachers who pronounced their funeral sermon on more than one occasion was left at home himself; while the opponents of the Wilmot proviso come up here thicker than ever. In a little while that proviso had nobody so poor as to do it reverence.

When the fugitive slave law passed I was told by gentlemen who were favourable to it, that it was producing an intensity of feeling in the North, of which we could have no idea. They said that the whole North was against it; and in the South many were alarmed at the agitation, and some of the States passed resolutions in the strongest terms for the enforcement of the law. I do not know that anybody has been defeated because of that bill in the North where a fight was firmly made on the issue. How will it be on this occasion? Some gentlemen will go forward and tell their constituents that a great wrong has been done to the North. What is it? Why that Congress has actually had the unparalleled—I will not say impudence, but want of justice—to allow the people of Kansas and Nebraska to legislate for themselves in local matters. Now, Mr. Chairman, do you think that it will produce any excitement when the question is understood? Not a bit of it. When the idea is first thrown out that we are repealing the Missouri compromise to let slavery into that Territory, there will be the greatest excitement; but as the question comes to be canvassed and examined from time to time, the result will be that the issue will take a hold on the popular mind which none can resist.

I have never in my life, been afraid, when I felt that I was right, to make an issue and debate a question before the people. I recollect very well that some years ago I was the only man from the South who voted for the reception of Abolition petitions, and against the twenty-first rule. There was a very intense excitement in my part of the country, against their reception; but when I came to discuss and examine the question, I was fully sustained by the people.

And here let me say that I do not deprecate debate on the subject of Slavery. On the contrary, my own opinion is that a calm, temperate discussion of all these questions in Congress is positively beneficial. When I came here ten years ago it was the fashion for southern men to say that "you cannot venture to discuss Slavery. It must not be discussed in Congress." The consequence was the Abolitionists were rampant when they saw that we seemed to be afraid of them, and they pressed upon us, getting stronger and stronger all the time as we seemed to retreat and waver before them. The most cowardly cur, if you run from him, will follow and bite you. I took at once a different view and was disposed to meet the question; taking the ground calmly then that we had better confront our enemies face to face. The great discussion which has since occurred, I am quite confident has strengthened our position all through the North. Liberal men in that section now find less difficulty in sustaining themselves. The northern and the southern people agree better and better as they come to understand each other's views.

There is a great amount of common sense and good feeling among our people everywhere; and the discussion, sir, of all these questions has been productive of nothing but benefit. Remember that we cannot prevent the Abolitionists debating these things. They will go all through the North, and spread their pamphlets far and near. They will have their preachers and lecturers. I have had a great many sermons sent to me lately. They have two striking qualities, rhetoric and ignorance; and the very fact that so many of these northern preachers—I mean Abolition preachers—have neglected their holy calling to embark in politics, is probably the reason why infidelity is making such a great headway among the Abolitionists. I am very sorry to see it (laughter). I think that it would be better for them to discuss religion. Unless they cease we shall be compelled to send missionaries among them (laughter). I read many of their papers, and, in common with the rest of the community, am shocked with witnessing their infidelity and blasphemy. They will eternally keep up this discussion about Slavery. Then why not let it be calmly and temperately debated, since it is necessarily before us in connection with this bill, and will be brought up occasionally by kindred topics?

As my time has expired, I omit some points that I had intended to discuss, and I shall now take my seat, thanking the committee for the attention with which they have heard me.

From the Independent.

UNCONSCIOUS TESTIMONY FOR FREE LABOUR.

The last census discloses the astonishing fact that nearly seven millions, or about one fourth of the people of the United States have emigrated, and are living in different States from those in which they were born. These have emigrated according to their own choice, as directed exclusively by considerations operating on their own minds as individuals, being checked by no obstacle to the perfect freedom of movement; "with all the world before them where to choose, and Providence their guide." The great body of them have been governed wholly by the consideration of worldly advantage—where they could most readily procure a living, or where they could best secure the happiness of themselves and their families. A very able statist in the *Evening Post* presents a most elaborate calculation, exhibiting in a strong light the unconscious testimony here presented as to the comparative desirableness of free and slaveholding States. It develops the force and working of "non-intervention," when carried on by individuals acting freely, each for himself—which statesmen, whether of Congress or in the South, ought not to overlook.

The nine new States of the South offer to the emigrant as great temptations, so far as soil, climate, and productiveness, as any other. Yet it is a fact that, out of 1,826,959 free-born children of the South, in 1850, residing in other States than those of their birth, 610,255, more than one-third, had gone to the free States; showing that, if the whole vacant territory of the Union were to be set apart exclusively for emigrants from the South one-third of it at least should justly be kept free from Slavery.

This tendency is exhibited in a more remarkable manner, in the course of emigration among the frontier States, slave and free, where the people, living side by side, have the best opportunities of comparing the two systems. Intercourse is as free as if there were no imaginary political lines to separate neighbours. And yet it is found, by comparing the two frontiers, that of 843,672 emigrants from the five frontier slave States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, 468,548 went to free States; while of 1,040,655 from the six free States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa, 886,886 went to free States. Of the emigration from border slave States, only 45 per cent. went so the South; of that from the border free States only 15 per cent. went to the South—55 per cent. of the South fleeing from the presence of Slavery to get where it could not come, and 85 per cent. of the North diligently keeping away from it. Ought not statesmen, consulting for the future welfare of commonwealths yet to be, and of countless millions of free people now unborn, to think of this?

Once more. This writer shows that that, out of 1,267,668 of the people of New England and New York who have emigrated, only 54,329 went to slave States, barely 4 per cent. to the South! And then, of 2,210,839 inhabitants who were born in other countries, no less than 1,965,518 have settled in the free States, equal to 89 per cent. Only 55,624 people from the free States have gone to Missouri, though the slaves there are only one-eighth of the whole population, while 128,572 have gone up into Wisconsin (of whom 65,595 were from New York alone), and 88,709 to Iowa. The State of New York has a free population equal to about half the free population of the entire South; and Ohio has double that of Virginia, "the mother of Presidents," none or all of whom have had statesmanship enough to make their own native commonwealth thrive. The six new free States of the west outnumber the free population of the whole South. These States contain 423,000 freemen from the South, 566,000 from other nations, 920,000 from Pennsylvania, New York and New England; in all, says our writer:

"Two millions, all emigrants, each acting without concert with the rest—each in pursuit of happiness for himself alone—each at liberty to go where Slavery exists, but all deciding that where Slavery exists is no place for them! These hosts are armies—armies such as Xerxes never led, bridging streams such as Xerxes never saw, and winning, every month, fields more glorious than he ever lost! Pushing onward, and still onward, every encampment a State, and each headquarters a capital, occupying Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, avoiding Kentucky, turning away from Missouri, as from a wall, overrunning Wisconsin northward, then crossing the Mississippi; and while the head of the noble column is falling bravely in the wilds of Iowa, not only fresh hosts are pouring in from slave States on the South, and British possessions on the North, and New England on the East, but the mustering drum is heard beyond the ocean, in Britain, France, Germany, amid the passes of the Alps, on the frozen hills of Norway, in Hungary, and far away toward the foot of the Ural mountains."

It is evident that the free States are fast filling up. When they are full, whither shall this irresistable stream of free emigration tend? It will not stop; it will either find or make an outlet. "HENCEFORTH THE MARCH OF FREEDOM IS TO BE THE MARCH OF ABOLITION." Says the writer:

"The present free States must overflow, and the tide will pour into slave territory. And all the principles and instincts under the influence of which the whole North regards, and has regarded, Slavery as an outrage and a crime, if inflicted by themselves, and as an institution to be abolished wherever they live, will at once prompt an unceasing hostility. Slavery will thenceforth be no longer the affair of others. They can not live in its midst without responsibility for its evils, or stain from its pollutions, or abasement from its degradation. It will become thenceforth, and for ever, while it lasts an affair of their own. What they have hitherto done, what they are now doing, show what they will continue to do. It must be resisted, attacked, assailed, abolished. The conflict will instantly commence—nay, has commenced already. No longer can the North feel, that henceforth there is free soil enough for the accommodation of its descendants. That cheering hope has vanished. Pass this bill, and carry out the principle on which this bill is founded; give this principle of Congressional non-intervention an "universal application;" sweep away the statutes which protect Nebraska, Minnesota, and Oregon, and five-sixths of the whole area of the Union will be slave territory. And all who look forward to the time when they or their posterity shall pass the bounds of the present free States, must contemplate the society existing beyond as a matter of personal interest to themselves. Henceforth, action upon that society will be a right as well as a duty. It can no longer be stigmatized as intermeddling. Henceforth, to agitate, will be just what hitherto the omission to agitate has been—attending to their own business.

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"Who can tell what the issue of the conflict will be, or rather not be? But before the day of the final overthrow of Slavery, who can tell what disasters will be endured? Have they, who think it a crime deserving of bars and dungeons to teach slaves the alphabet, reflected upon the effect of the agencies which will be put in operation among the slave population, by pouring among them even the emigration from beyond the Atlantic? Will that be an infusion likely to produce obedience? Who can tell what will be the effects when every colony from the Northern States shall be an Abolition society, united with the energy of the Northern conviction to extinguish a shame and a crime for which they can no longer hold themselves not responsible?

"But, enough. Happy will it be for the country and for mankind, if nope but the incendiaries who have kindled the conflagration perish in the flames."

From the Springfield (Va.) Telegraph.

CHRONICLES OF THE GALLOWS.

A badly mutilated body, recognised to be that of Stephen Arnold Douglas, was found suspended by the neck from the Liberty Pole in this (Springfield) village, on Sunday morning last. From various papers found upon him it is thought he committed suicide through disappointed hopes of the presidency. He seems to have chosen a most significant place to do penance for his deeds, for he hung *under the braces* which support the *Liberty Pole*. On Monday, there being no *mourners* to give him sepulture, the boys gave him to the *dogs*, judging the body to be useless for anatomical purposes, as it was evident the thing had no *heart*.

Hung in Effigy.—Senator Douglas was hung in effigy in Chelsea on Thursday night. An image bearing his name as an inscription, was hanging on the flagpole in the square on Friday.

Hung in Effigy.—An effigy was found hanging upon the "Washington Elm," in Cambridge, Mass., with the following inscription:

Stephen Arnold Douglas,
hanged for treason to Freedom.
Sic Semper Tyrannis.

Cleveland.—An effigy of Douglas was found suspended by a hempen halter to a limb of a tree in the city of Cleveland. Under his right arm was a negro baby, and in his left hand a superscription, thus, "Douglas and Doughfaces."

Leicester (Mass.).—Douglas was hung in effigy on the common on Monday last.

Senator Toucey, the only Northern Whig who voted for Douglas's bill, was hung in effigy from the flagstaff on the public green in New Haven, a few mornings since.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to Sydney Howard Gay, New York.

Donations to the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to Francis Jackson, Treasurer, at Boston; or to Sydney Howard Gay, New York.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 1854.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twentieth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the City of New York, in the REV. DR. CHAPIN'S CHURCH, in Broadway, between Spring and Prince Streets, on WEDNESDAY, May 10th, 1854, at 10 o'clock, A. M. The names of the speakers will be announced hereafter.

The Society will hold meetings for Business and Discussion (in some hall yet to be procured) on the evening following the public Anniversary and on the succeeding THURSDAY and FRIDAY, May 11th and 12th.

The members and friends of the Society far and near are earnestly invited to be present at the public Anniversary and to give us the benefit of their counsel and co-operation at the subsequent meetings. The condition of the country in relation to the Anti-Slavery Agitation will present for the consideration of the Society topics of the gravest importance affecting its future action; hence a large attendance is desirable.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Pres.

Edmund Quincy,
S. H. Gay,
Wendell Phillips, } Secretaries.

It is a melancholy commentary, the *Tribune* thinks, upon the oft-made prediction of politicians of easy virtue, that Slavery was dying out, that the North, which has talked so bravely of confining the system to its present limits, is itself on the point of being shut up "within two narrow strips of continent on the borders of the Great Lakes and the Pacific Ocean!" And how, asks that paper indignantly, "came freedom thus brought to its last gasp? Who have been guilty of debauching the national virtue, so far as to permit this Nebraska project to be even debatable? What vile arts have been used to give plausibility to the sophistries, under which the palpable iniquity of this great fraud has been thinly veiled?" Verily, friend, we might answer, 'Thou art the man.' It is indeed true, as that paper urges in answer to its own questions, that "popular preachers have perverted the records of old inspiration to defend villanies abhorrent to the natural religion of their consciences"; that "unprincipled politicians, to whose apprehension the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence are self-evident lies; men who have no real faith in democracy, guilty of *incivism* toward the Republic, from the stump, the newspaper press and the floors of Congress, and whatever places of influence they could intrigue themselves into, have denounced as treasonable and dangerous all the liberal and democratic opinions of the age"; that "timid men have given ground to all this pressure"; and that "many looked up to as leaders to head the resistance against the general demoralization have proved, not intellectually, but morally, incapable of making the effort." But it is none the less true that not to such men alone, nor to such men chiefly, is it owing that the Slave-power is, at this moment, stretching forth its hand to do and to undo, to seize and secure, far more than it could, a few years since, have been thought within the range of possibility, except by the few who have had, for twenty years, the right—and have it now—to say, 'we told you so.' The popular preacher who perverted the true doctrine, the unprincipled politician, whether in the editorial chair, a seat in Congress, or on the stump, have indeed succeeded in 'debauching the national virtue.' But it is not so much because the people loved vice, for its own sake; not so much because they were lured by the pleasant aspect of an uncovered sin; but because good men, men with smooth tongues, and faces shining with the unction of pleasant and virtuous professions, covered up the wrong, and clothed it in the bright vesture of right, bedecked it as a bride for the altar full of innocence and pleasantness, that the nation was wooed to take to its arms the painted harlot from whose embrace comes only death. The corrupt priest and the wretched partisan who have advocated and defended Slavery as a blessing, and of divine origin, have their own sins to answer for, but are comparatively innocent of the sins of others. The men who have cried peace! peace! when there was none; the men who have said at each successive aggression of the Slave-power, let us yield this once, and a good thing shall come of it; the men who have recognised the wrong, and have consented to its committal, on the old false plea, that out of a little evil would come much good; it is these that have brought freedom to her present gasp, whether it be her last one or not; and it is these who have the most to answer for. They are loudest now in their outcries, as they ought to be, and chiefest among them is the *Tribune*.

Of course we do not say this invidiously, nor because our habit of hard language is so inveterate that we can never abstain from it, even against the friends of the good cause. But we confess to an inveteracy in truth-telling, when it seems likely to do any good, and this is one of those occasions.

It is not likely that any one doubts the sincerity of the *Tribune* in the rushing charge which it is now making against the hosts of Slavery; certainly we do not. Nor is it likely that there is any doubt of the tremendous influence it is now using in the right direction; we certainly have none. But we have no right to forget the experience of the past. The *Tribune* has been Anti-Slavery before, but was always more of a Whig than an Abolitionist. So the *Evening Post* claims to be, and is, in a measure, in favour of freedom, but it never forgets that it was locofoco before it was Anti-Slavery. This last paper was on the Buffalo Platform, when it was of little consequence whether its party was there or elsewhere. But when that party was pretty certain of power, and the *Post* could have done some good by being in opposition, then we find it at Baltimore. The *Tribune* has never been quite so bad as this, we hope for a better reason than because it has never been tempted. For that paper has always been true to the Whig party, and the Whig party has always been so Anti-Slavery, *when out* of power, that there has been no temptation for its Anti-Slavery members to leave it. It is just in that position at this moment. The Whig Legislatures will, this year, be more busy than ever in laying down pavements in what, if they had any souls to be damned, would be their future home (and leading men at Washington are writing home that the time has come for the party to take an Anti-Slavery position. But of this folly—of Whigism, we mean—there seems a good reason for hoping that the *Tribune* is cured. That form of politics it has seemed of late disposed to let go to its own place.

Still, after giving it credit for the best intentions; though grateful and hopeful at the hearty and heavy blows it deals to the American Monster; and though relying implicitly on its sincerity for this moment, it is quite as well to wait for some new turn in affairs—a Presidential election, for instance—before we hail the advent of a new power in the cause, which is to finish the work which others have begun. These latter day saints have especial need of the prayer—Deliver us from Temptation—for hitherto, in every crisis, they and their kind have yielded to the temptation which their opponents have offered them with one hand, while they knocked them down with the other. Perhaps the time is just upon us when the vigilance of a quarter of a century may be pretermitted, and the weary sentinel allowed, at last, to lie down upon his arms; but clearly that blessed time is not yet fully come. These fresh troops are brave unto death for the carrying of this outpost, but we are not sure that they are as determined to enlist for the war, and to overrun the enemy's country.

We speak here of the *Tribune* because it has given us a text, and not with any intention of offensive personality. That paper stands for a class, and with its ever widening circle of readers, embracing already at least a half million, it presents a reliable index of the state of the Northern mind on the Slavery question. It is to be hoped that it has reached a point from which there is no receding; it is certain it can never go back to the point from which it started. But there is a point beyond—far beyond its present position. There is much to be learned, and much to be done, when the knowledge comes, not dreamed of now. The North does not understand the South, notwithstanding the teachings of these seventy years. Slavery has never given up a coveted thing, and it never can, and live. It never moves without calculating its resources, and it is as inexorable as death in the pursuit of its object. If it is opposed at all it must be, not merely as a matter of expediency, but from a principle of right; and if it once be checked it is defeated. Like a fatal disease, it can only live by the death of the body which nourishes it; it must kill or be killed. There must come with it, at last, the final life-and-death-struggle, and the longer it is postponed the less the hope that it will avail anything. When the North knows this, and when we see in northern organs the indication that slaveholding aggression is no longer to be submitted to, on *any* pretence—that the free States are ready for that death-grip in which the slave power must be strangled—it is then that we shall begin to hope for the republic, and put implicit unquestioning faith in the Anti-Slavery of the *Tribune's* half-million readers.

THE SALT-WATER FUGITIVE.

The case of Edward Davis, the coloured man who secreted himself under the wheel-house of the steamship Keystone State at Savannah, and in that perilous position made a passage of twenty-four hours, is exciting a good deal of interest in Philadelphia. The heroic fellow, who, for the sake of liberty, braved such 'dangers of the sea,' should have been freed by the spontaneous impulse of the people, and would anywhere but where every generous emotion of the human heart is smothered by Slavery. But the wrong in this case is infinitely aggravated by the fact that Davis is unquestionably a freeman. His whole story is one of great interest, and is thus told by the *Philadelphia Register*:

He left Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1851, and went to Harrisburg, intending to go to Hollidaysburg; took a canal boat for Havre de Grace, where he arrived next day. There he hired on board the schooner Thomas and Edward (oyster boat), of Baltimore. Went from Havre de Grace to St. Michaels, for oysters; thence to Baltimore, and thence to Havre de Grace again.

He there hired to a Mr. Sullivan, who kept a grocery store, to do jobs. While there, a constable, named Smith, took him before a magistrate, named Graham, who fined him fifteen or twenty dollars for violating the law in relation to free negroes coming into the State. This fine he was not able to pay, and Smith took him to the Bell Air prison. Sheriff Gaw wrote to a Mr. Maitland in Philadelphia, to whom he referred, and received an answer that Mr. Maitland was dead and none of the family knew him. He remained in that prison nearly two months. He then had a trial in court before Judge Grier (most unfortunate name), who sentenced him to be sold to pay his fine and expenses, amounting to fifty dollars.

After a few days and *without being offered at public sale*, he was taken out of jail at two o'clock in the morning and carried to Campbell's slave pen in Baltimore, where he remained several months. While there he was employed to cook for some fifty or sixty slaves, being told that he was working out his fine and jail fees. After being there about six months, he was taken out of prison, handcuffed by one Winters, who took him and two or three others to Washington, and from thence to Charleston, S. C. Here Winters left them, and they were taken by steamboat to Savannah. While on board this boat he learned that himself and the other two had been sold to Mr. William Dean, of Macon, Georgia. He was taken to a cotton plantation about four miles from Macon, where he stayed two days, and was taken from there to the East Valley Railroad.

Subsequently he was sent to work on the Possum Tail Railroad. Here he was worked so hard that in one month he lost his health. The other two men taken on with him failed before he did. He was then sent to Macon and from thence to the cotton plantation again. During the time he worked on the railroad, he had allowed him for food, one peck of corn meal, four pounds of bacon and one quart of molasses per week. He cooked it himself at night, for the next day's use. He worked at packing cotton for four or five months, and in the middle of November, 1852, was sent back to the railroad, where he was again set to wheeling.

He worked at "task work" two months, being obliged to wheel *sixteen* square yards per day. At the end of two months he broke down again, and was sick. They tried one month to cure him, but did not succeed. In July, 1853, he was taken to an infirmary in Macon. Dr. Nottingham and Dr. Harris, of that institution, both stated that his was the worst case of the kind they ever had. He remained at the infirmary two months, and partially recovered. He told the story of his wrongs to these physicians, who tried to buy him. One of his legs was drawn up so that he could not walk well, and they offered four hundred dollars for him, which his master refused. The doctors wanted him to attend their patients (mostly slaves). While in Georgia he was frequently asked where he came from, being found more intelligent than the common run of slaves.

On the twelfth of March he ran away from Macon and went to Savannah. There he hid in a stable until Tuesday afternoon at six o'clock, when he secreted himself on board the Keystone State. At nine o'clock the next morning, the Keystone State left with Davis secreted as we have before stated.

After twenty-four hours in his cave of the winds and waves, he made his situation known by shouting, as he was then too exhausted to move. He was then, as our readers will remember, imprisoned at Newcastle, Del., discharged, re-arrested, and is now in jail, awaiting his trial. The *Register* also gives the documents under which these several steps were taken, which we copy. Capt. Hardie, on whose oath he was recommitted, is the Captain of the steamer by which Davis escaped:

COPY OF FIRST ORDER OF COMMITMENT.

New Castle County, ss., State of Delaware.—To Wm. R. Lynam, Sheriff of said County. ——— Davis (Negro) is delivered to your custody for further examination and hearing for travelling without a pass, and supposed to be held a Slave to some person in the State of Georgia.

[Seal] Witness the hand and seal of John Bradford, one of the Justices of the Peace for the County of New Castle, the 17th day of March, 1854.

JOHN BRADFORD, J. P.

COPY OF DISCHARGE.

To Wm. R. Lynam, Sheriff of New Castle County: You will discharge ——— Davis from your custody as satisfactory proof having been made before me that he is a free man. JOHN BRADFORD, J. P.

Witnesses. Joanna Diamond, John H. Brady, Martha C. Maguire.

COPY OF ORDER OF RE-COMMITMENT.

New Castle County, ss., the State of Delaware to Wm. R. Lynam, and to the Sheriff or keeper of the Common Jail of said County, Whereas ——— Davis hath this day been brought before me the subscriber one of the Justices of the Peace, in and for the said county, charged upon the oath of Robert Hardie with being a runaway slave, and also as a suspicious person, travelling without a pass, these are therefore to command you, the said Wm. R. Lynam, forthwith to convey and deliver into the custody of the said Sheriff, or keeper of the said jail, the body of the said Davis, and you the said Sheriff or receiver of the said body of the said Davis into your custody in the said jail, and him there safely keep until he be thence delivered by due course of law.

Given under my hand and seal at New Castle this 21st day of March A. D., 1854.

JOHN BRADFORD, J. P.

The *Register* farther says:

On the fourth of April, the Marshal of Macon called at the jail in New Castle, and demanded him as a fugitive slave, but the Sheriff refused to give him up until a fair hearing could be had according to the laws of the State of Delaware. The Marshal has returned to Georgia, and will probably bring the claimant on the next trip of the Keystone State. The authorities of Delaware manifest no disposition to deliver up a man whose freedom has been so clearly proved; but every effort will be made to reduce him again to Slavery by the man who claims him, in which, it seems, he has the hearty co-operation of Capt. Hardie. A trial will be had before U. S. Commissioner Guthrie, and we have every reason to suppose it will be a fair one. The friends of right and justice should remember that such a trial will be attended with considerable expense, and that the imprisoned man has been too long deprived of his liberty to have money to pay for his own defence.

The case for Davis, we understand, is in the hands of the old Emancipation Society of Philadelphia, and everything, doubtless, will be done to secure his rights If nothing better can be done, it is hoped that bloodmoney enough will buy off the pirate's claim.

FREE SPEECH IN VIRGINIA.

Two or three weeks ago we copied a letter from Wheeling, Va., to one of the morning papers, containing an account of a recent meeting in that city called to rebuke the editor of the *Wheeling Times* for venturing to express, in his paper, an opinion unfavourable to the patriarchal state of society which exists in the Southern region of this Happy Country. The people, it will be remembered, came together at the appointed time and place, ready to make known its sovereign will; but there was a mistake in the reckoning of the fathers of the meeting, as the assembly instead of withering the *Times* man into a nonentity by its contempt and indignation, put down, by a strong voice, all his opponents, and heartily avowed its approval of his course and his sentiments. This certainly is a new thing in Virginia, that great mother of black babies for sale, and the issue is worth watching for.

Opposition to Slavery is, as we all know, no new thing in Virginia. The question was open to discussion till it was proved that there was danger that discussion might lead to action, and then it was stopped. In this point, however, Virginia was not peculiar. It was always considered very proper at the North to be opposed to Slavery, till it was discovered that the only sort of opposition worth talking about was Abolition. Virginia, like the rest of the country, has to pass through this transition condition, and from discussion of the subject in the abstract goes to silence, and from silence will come at length to a discussion of it in the concrete. There seems to be some indication of that point being in sight; and when that is reached next comes action.

The editor of the *Wheeling Times*, it seems, is not satisfied with the assertion and establishment of his right of speech; he proves his earnestness by using what he has gained. The following article from his paper, which we find in a city contemporary, we mark as an event:

"We are in favour of taking the earliest possible means for getting rid of Slavery in the State of Virginia, with justice to the master, safety to the State, and comfort and convenience to the labouring population now in it.

"We desire it because it has retarded the progress of the people since it became a state, impoverishing its inhabitants, reducing its population, and staying the development of the vast natural resources that abound in the State to a greater extent than in any other State in the Union. Had it not been for Slavery, Norfolk would now be what New York and Philadelphia are. Norfolk has the best harbour in the Union, and the natural soil that extends from the coast of the Blue River is among the best in the country. Had that institution not existed there, or if it should be removed, how long would it be before Norfolk would be among the first of the cities, and the worn-out lands in that region of country, that now are owned in five hundred and one thousand acre tracts, and hardly support a family at that, would be divided into fifty acre tracts, each of which would not only be tilled by the hands of the hardy and intelligent republican, not only to yield a support but competence and riches to a large and happy family, happy in their industry and intelligence?

"No one dare deny that such would be the result. Is it not right, then, that we should express such opinions? We are parties interested as well as they, for what benefits or injures one part of the State benefits or injures the other part.

"In Western Virginia there is but a small proportion of Slavery; but still Western Virginia feels the effect of it. She feels the effects of it in the want of energy and application in the legislature. The internal improvements of the State are left to languish, roads through the territory have never been constructed to open the soil to life, to immigration and to a market. Owing to Slavery and large tracts of land, the consequence thereof, the population have been kept sparse, schools have not been established; those who have come in to settle Western Virginia are without schools or churches, and the masses of them, in some parts, necessarily grow up, to a great degree, ignorant and irreligious, while their lands are kept low, and they are forced by circumstances to live upon them half cultivated, and in houses that barely shelter them.

"Let any man look through thousands of acres and miles of Western Virginia, and see if what we state is not the fact; see if this, the oldest State in the Union, having a rich soil, a glorious climate, healthy, possessing vast water power and mineral wealth, is not far behind, in comfort and population, in intelligence, morals and wealth, the free territories of yesterday. He will not dare to say that there is anything else the matter than the existence of that institution, under which children are not taught to work, and practical thought is made a source of condemnation in the eyes of the few who assume to control and direct public opinion and public action. To this there are noble exceptions, and they are daily seen. They have struggled from under the incubus, and shown themselves the noblest of God's Works.

"So long as this was the case in Wheeling, so long as mechanics and manufacturers were considered as second-rate men, and real application to labour was discouraged, so long Wheeling failed to prosper; but when men, in defiance of the prejudices against labour, came in from the free States and settled here, it became prosperous—it rose like a giant in its strength. Would to Heaven all Virginia were so.

"But no; within a hundred miles of this city, there is more iron ore than the world needs for a century. It is of the best quality, rich and easily worked; but till within the last two years, it has lain as if it were not—it has cumbered the earth. This is wanted by the manufacturers of our city and elsewhere, and would be an element of vast wealth and product.

"It would fill our sheet to even enumerate all the disregarded elements of wealth, progress and improvement there are around us. We cannot do it now. Let the reader travel down the river and look at Virginia and Ohio, a mother and daughter, and he will see the whole story told in a few words. What shall remedy it? A condition of society and legislation which shall regard religion, education, temperance and labour as the honourable conditions of man, and the only means by which, and the only grounds on which, man can deserve honour from his fellow-man. When Slavery gives way to the church, the school-house, the manufactory, the axe, the plough, the strong arm, the clear head, the improvements of the age and practical legislation, then will Virginia prosper, and not be alone honoured as the mother of States, but again the first of States.

"There are those doubtless, who will say that the expression of these opinions will be injurious to the community in which we live, and in which we have as deep an interest as any other man. Not so. The utterance of God's truth never injured any man or community. Again, manufactures and commerce are the sole elements of the prospreity of our community, and they do not stop for legislation, nor are they materially affected by it. The idle speculator is the only one who waits for legislation. Again, we have expressed no opinion which is not sanctioned by the heart of every intelligent legislator of the State, and he will respect us the more for uttering it."

Putnam's Monthly for April maintains its position at the head of all American Monthlies. There is not, and never has been a magazine, in this country, at all equal to it, either in the ability of its several contributors, or the good taste and judgment with which it is edited. Longfellow, Melville, and Lowell are among the writers of the present number. We copy on our fourth page a poem of great beauty by the first-named, to whom—it is not improper to add—a child was born, on the day of the death of Maria Lowell.

The Cincinnati Germans.—Two Nebraska meetings were held, last week, on the same evening in Cincinnati, one by the friends of Douglas's bill, which is described as thin, tame, and cold; the other by the Germans. At the last a series of well-knit, straightforward Resolutions were adopted, which we think worth copying as a good specimen-brick of the Anti-Slavery Tabernacle the Germans are building. It is very clear that these people know what they are talking about:

This meeting, composed of German speaking, but nevertheless free American citizens of Cincinnati, adopted thereby the following resolves:

1st. Liberty and right, and not Slavery and might, are the fundamental principles of the institutions of this country. An equality of right between Slavery and freedom is therefore out of the question.

2d. The people give power to Congress, and not Congress to the people. The Congressional grant of Territorial Government is therefore positive wrong.

3d. Neither the General Government, nor any other Government, can, under the Constitution, recognise Slavery beyond State limits. Under the Constitution of the United States, when rightfully considered, Slavery must give way to freedom, and the sovereign power of the States alone protects the first from abrogation.

4th. There is constitutionally and rightfully no property in man; might alone, which cannot be reached, reduces

tary work, written by Col. Forbes, and presented to it by him, for the purpose of raising funds. Col. Forbes is an exile from Italy, and was active in the late revolution there under Mazzini.

Mr. GIDDINGS, at the close of his speech on the the 'Black Warrior' case, addressed the House thus forcibly and hopefully on the northern feeling upon the Slavery question:

Now, let me tell gentlemen, that I stand here as I did some sixteen months since; and I assure you, Mr. Speaker, and the country, that the Executive never will dare to invade Cuba, for the reason that it will hasten the emancipation of her bondmen; and our forces, if sent there, instead of meeting the Creoles, or an army of white men, will have to confront an army of emancipated slaves, who will welcome them to combat. These movements do not discourage me. They do not intimidate me. I never despond. On the contrary, I see the destiny of this nation wielded by that "HIGHER LAW," which will laugh the Executive and his power to scorn; that higher law which he and his friends have so often ridiculed, while it was paralysing his influence, and stealing from him his political breath, until he has already become a breathing political corpse. Sir, it is that higher law—it is that popular sentiment which is now rolling on in the North—which was manifested in New York the night before last—which was manifested in Philadelphia a day or two ago—which is manifested by the three thousand and fifty signatures of New England clergy, to the petition presented at the other end of this capitol—which is manifested in ten thousand public meetings throughout the land of the free—which is manifested in every log cabin in the West, and in the richer residences of the North—which is manifested in the pulpit and on the stump—which is manifested at the prayer meetings and at the political convocations—which must and will shape the destiny of this nation; before that we must bow, for it is the voice of God, uttered by his people. Sir, we are a nation who pray before we fight; and when we have said our prayers, and put on our armour, then our enemies had better stand aside than to meet us (laughter).

Sir, I would intimidate no one; but I tell you there is a spirit in the North which will set at defiance all the low and unworthy machinations of this Executive, and of the minions of its power. When the contest shall come—when the thunder shall roll, and the lightening flash—when the slaves shall rise in the South—when, in imitation of the Cuban bondmen, the southern slaves of the South shall feel they are *men*—when they feel stirring emotions of immortality, and recognise the stirring truth that they are *men*, and entitled to the rights which God has bestowed upon them—when the slaves shall feel that, and when masters shall turn pale, and tremble when their dwellings shall smoke, and dismay sit on each countenance, then, sir, I do not say "we will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh," but I do say, when that time shall come, the lovers of our race will stand forth, and exert the legitimate powers of this Government for freedom. We shall then have constitutional power to act for the good of our country, and do justice to the slaves. Then will we strike off the anacles from the limbs of the slaves. That will be a period when this government will have power to act between Slavery and Freedom, and when it can make peace by giving freedom to the slaves. And let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, that that time hastens. It is rolling forward. The President is exerting a power that will hasten it, though not intended by him. I hail it as I do the approaching dawn of that political and moral millennium which I am well assured will come upon the world.

Sir, no petty shrewdness, no trivial attempts by the Executive members of this body to out-wit or overreach the Almighty, or at out-managing the order of His Providence; no attempt to avoid the just judgments of God, to evade wrath, will then be regarded as efficient. Some of us are prepared for the conflict. I would speak a word of caution to the President, and to the friends who sustain him. They should prepare to have their works examined. The places which now know them, will, in all human probability, soon know them no more, forever. All the signs of the times must fail, or one year from this day there will be a larger majority in this body opposed to the Administration than there now is in its favour. They should, therefore, set their house in order, for they must soon pass from these halls to that bourne from whence no traveller returns

Mr Speaker, I am told that my hour is near its close. I have already occupied your time longer than I originally intended. I rose solely from a consciousness that this message of the President ought not to go forth to the people of the United States unexposed. I felt that there should a commentary go with it. I believed that the attention of this House, and of the people, should be called to its consideration, so that the whole North, as well as the South, might see and understand the present ruling policy of this Executive and of his Administration. The policy, sir, is the support of Slavery in Cuba, and its extension in the Territories of the United States. It stands forth in this message, over the official signature of the President. It is proclaimed to the country, to the world. With that policy I make no conditions. Against it I wage an unmitigated, unceasing warfare. Here and elsewhere, by the wayside and by the fireside, I assail and hold it up to the condemnation of all good men. Sir, the whole North is now presenting an array of moral and political influence which, in my opinion, will, at no distant day, redeem and regenerate the nation from the influences and the policy which would now pervert its powers, to the destruction of the great objects for which it was established.

☞ AN unsectarian clerical movement is started in Hampden County, Massachusetts, against the Nebraska bill, to bring out an expression of opinion from the whole church-going population of the State on that question. Time was, as early Abolitionists will remember, when the 'Clerical Appeals' of Massachusetts were of quite another sort, and we certainly have cause of gratulation when we reflect upon the difference now. It is a long and weary road to look back upon that it has taken twenty years to make, reaching only from that point to this; but fortunately, perhaps, the view is shut out from the multitude who crowd in at this turning, and who, in their eagerness to go forward do not care to look back, and hardly know that there is any path to look back upon. Let us hope, at least, that the worst of the way is passed, satisfied that the work that is done was none the less needed and effectual because it is unknown or forgotten. We subjoin the appeal of the Hampden County Clergymen:

To the Clergymen of Massachusetts Respectfully.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIRS: The Clergymen of Hampden County, Mass., of all denominations, assembled, on the fifteenth of March, in Convention, at Springfield, to deliberate upon their duty as Ministers, in regard to the measure known as the *Nebraska Bill*, now pending before the United States House of Representatives.

We have deemed it our solemn duty, as professed guardians of public morals, as teachers and defenders of truth and justice, most earnestly to protest against this measure, as a gross violation of public faith, as an infringement of the common principles of justice and humanity, as an insult to the moral sense of the whole Christian world, and as, in its very nature, certain to oppose the free proclamation of the Gospel of Christ to the weary, heavy laden and oppressed.

We have prepared an Address, embodying these sentiments, to be presented to the people under our pastoral care; and, feeling that the voice of the Christian ministry should everywhere be raised in stern reproval of this great sin in high places, we, in behalf of this Convention, earnestly invite you to exert your influence to call a similar Convention of all denominations in the Counties where you reside.

F. H. NEWHALL, Methodist Episcopal, Springfield.
F. TIFFANY, Unitarian. "
G. A. OTIATT, Congregational, Chicopee.
JAMES FRENCH, Baptist, Holyoke.
J. W. FORD, Universalist. "

WHO WROTE THE HULSEMANN LETTER?—This has been the agitating question of the past week in this city, though our Boston Correspondent seems not to have heard of it in that precinct. The question, however, was started by a Boston Correspondent of the *Evening Post*, who stated that Mr Everett had claimed this letter, which has hitherto been supposed to be exclusively Mr. Webster's "thunder," as his own. The credit of it, during his life-time, was given to him, and distinctly claimed by Mr. Webster; it was even awarded to him by Mr. Everett himself in his edition of that gentleman's works. As a mere question of literary property it can hardly be considered of such consequence as to make it absolutely necessary that it should be settled now. Mr. Everett might have left that as Mr. Webster did, to his literary executors. The claim, therefore, it is said—if it be a fact such claim is made, for that point seems not to be absolutely certain—can only be on the ground that as Mr. Webster must have done with the fame of it now, Mr. Everett has a right to see what he can make of it. Such is the charge universally made by his *un*-friends against him, though it is not easy to see how that which did not help Mr. Webster to the Presidency, could aid Mr. Everett for a like purpose. If the letter was not his, but is claimed from such a motive, the claim is as foolish as it is dishonest. He had far better have announced that he was in Mexico in disguise, and had fought some of those famous battles which made Gen Pierce immortal. But if the letter was his it is difficult to believe that any other motive than a wish to put a literary question beyond dispute could have prompted the assertion of right at this time. The truth is Mr. Everett is, at this moment, and he deserves to be, in bad reputation among his Constituents, and this question, if not started for that very purpose, is used as a good kick for a man who is already down.

☞ In its proper place, on the first page of this week's *Standard*, will be found one of those precious bits of splenetic consolation which Southern editors are wont to administer to themselves; when galled beyond bearing by some such man as Ralph Waldo Emerson. It is not that the *Picayune* cares the value of its name for Webster, but it is that a retired scholar with a world-wide reputation, like Mr. Emerson, should come upon the Platform to bear effective testimony against Southern Slavery. The vindictiveness of these chivalric gentlemen against the enemies of that system is out of all proportion with the littleness of their gratitude to its Northern friends.

In looking over the *Picayune* from which we cut this article our eyes fell upon some other literary productions also characteristic of Southern newspapers: Here is the first one:

New Orleans Slave Depot,
Nos. 68 Baronne and 157 Common Street.

SLAVES for sale on reasonable terms for Cash or City Acceptance; particular attention paid to the sale of Negroes on commission from merchants and others, and will always have on hand, Mechanics, Field Hands and House Servants, and will be receiving Negroes throughout the season. Having a large and airy house, I will be able to accommodate 300 Slaves for those who import from other States. City guarantees given when required. Titles undoubted.

☞ And will pay the highest prices in cash for sound Negroes. THOMAS FOSTER.

Great as the inducements, offered by Mr. Foster to his friends and the public, are, they are equalled by Mr. James White, and, in one respect, exceeded; *he* deals chiefly in children, so that Southern housekeepers can rid their yards of a nuisance quite as effectually as we of the North get clear of kittens by drowning them:

For Sale.

By JAMES WHITE, at No. 73 Baronne Street (west side), between Gravier and Common.

A likely lot of SLAVES, consisting of men, women and children, which I will sell low for cash, or city acceptance.

I will buy any number of young SLAVES that may be offered. I will also receive, board and sell on commission. I have a good house, large yard and healthy location. Any one having business in my line would do well to call before making arrangements elsewhere. JAMES WHITE.
[oct15 53—ly]

Then J. T. Hatcher offers 'a rare chance.' Here it is:

A Rare Chance for Planters.

By J. T. HATCHER, No. 157 Gravier Street, 100 yards in the rear of the St. Charles Hotel.

A GANG OF LIKELY FAMILY NEGROES, forty one in number, for sale on the most liberal terms, one third cash, balance at one and two years credit. Also, fifty other Negroes, including Men, Women and Boys.

Planters will do well to call and see me before buying elsewhere, as I am determined to sell at the lowest market prices. mh16

And then we have the advertisement of one Mr. Blanc who has been so unfortunate as to have dropped a couple of things somewhere—one a white man and the other a plasterer. The white man is worth the most, it seems, as he offers double the reward for him. He says:

TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD—Ran away the slave boy WILLIAM, nearly white, about 25 years old, blue eyes, light hair, bad teeth, slender built and straight, about five feet nine inches high, a good house servant. Hotels and steamboat captains are cautioned against employing or harbouring said boy. The above reward will be paid on his delivery at No. 157 Common Street. The above boy was in the chain gang last year. Police, be on your watch.

—Also—

TEN DOLLARS REWARD—Will be paid for the delivery of the boy HARRISON, well known as a plasterer, and formerly belonged to Mr. BLANC, New Basin, if delivered at 157 Common Street. mh16—tf

It is a curious and significant fact that all advertisements relating to Slaves in Southern newspapers are uniformly illustrated by a man *running away!* That he will run, if he can get the chance, is the one universal characteristic of the Slave. All the above were cut from a space in the paper which one could cover with one's hand; and that too a paper which is shocked that anybody should doubt that Daniel Webster who procured the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, was a great and good man!

THE SUGAR DUTIES.—The *Evening Post* of this city, and several other papers in various parts of the country, have started a discussion of the propriety of abolishing the duty on sugar. They advocate it first, on the general principle of free trade; secondly, on the ground that as sugar is a necessary of life, as much for the poor as the rich, it ought to be afforded to all at the cheapest rate at which it can be produced; and thirdly, that as the protection benefits but a few persons legislation in favour of it is class-legislation All these are sound arguments, and any one of them should be enough to induce Congress to put Sugar on the free list. A St Louis paper thus puts the whole matter in a nut-shell:

"The total in duties collected upon foreign sugar and molasses imported was:

For the year 1852.....$5,492,332
For five years ending June, 1852.....$24,480,418

"The imposition of this duty on foreign sugars adds to the cost or value of the same article produced in the United States, in the same proportion; we must, therefore, add to the amount actually paid in duties, the enhanced value of the sugar crop of Louisiana during this period, and this gives us the astounding sum of $36,036,178 (thirty six millions, thirty-six thousand, one hundred and seventy eight dollars), as the amount paid by the people of the United States, for the protection of fifteen hundred sugar planters, in five years—$31 18 on every hogshead, or 2 7 8 cents per pound, for protection, on all sugar produced during that period in Louisiana.

"The largest pensions ever paid by this government to officers of the highest grade, who have been disabled in the service of the country, would not amount to the sum paid, in the shape of protection to each sugar-planter, as the following statement, showing the number of sugar plantations and the sum paid in protection to each for three years, will make manifest:

In 1850, 1,455 plantations.....$4,356 each.
In 1851, 1,400 " .....4,388 "
In 1852, 1,473 " .....5,838 "

But who makes the sugar? That question seems to be left quite out of sight in the discussion, though it is the one that will be finally appealed to to settle it. If it were Southern planters who paid the tax, and Northern farmers who reaped the benefit we might hope for its abrogation; it is not likely even that it would ever have been established. But the boot unfortunately is on the other leg; it is Southern planters who enjoy the benefit of the protection, and Northern freemen who pay the larger proportion of the tax. It is calculated, we believe, that the molasses alone, on a sugar plantation, pays all expenses, leaving the sugar manufactured all clear profit; and on some of the largest plantations that profit ranges from fifty to a hundred thousand dollars annually. We rather doubt if the Free Traders will take our advice in the matter, but they may rest assured that they may as well save their breath for any other useful purpose to which they can put it.

THE EXPRESSMEN ON THE NEBRASKA BILL.—The *Express Messenger*, a paper which speaks on behalf of that new, but already important, power, in the mercantile world, the Expressmen, gives this little bit of practical testimony against the Nebraska Bill, and the system of Slavery. It is looking at it, to be sure, in a very business 'pint o' view,' but is none the less important and telling for that:

It is a fact incontrovertible that two or three manufacturing towns where free labour only exists give more business to the companies than an entire slave State. Every mechanic, factory girl and labourer, in such places, has an occasional parcel or commission for the express; but supposing that these persons, instead of each being a customer independent of others, should all be subject to one man, acting for all, the business they would make for the expressmen would be comparatively little. Instead of numerous lucrative parcels, there would be a few unwieldy and unprofitable bales and body. Anybody as familiar as the writer with the peculiarities of the express business in the Southern States cannot fail to have noticed the great disparity between the number of parcels and small packages *in transitu* and the number of bulky packages—the latter exceeding the former—while in the free States there are fifty parcels, and small packages, transported where there is one large one. The reason of this is owing almost entirely to the plantation system. In a factory, or a large machine shop, there may be two or three hundred hands under one foreman, but each person may be, and usually is, a customer to the express, by which he remits or draws money, makes purchases in other places, or sends presents to friends But if, instead of machine shop or large manufacturing establishment employing free labour, a plantation, worked by the same number of slaves, be substituted, the case is entirely different. The slave makes no purchases out of his own neighbourhood, sends no presents to a distance, and neither draws nor remits money. Plantation negroes yield no business to the express except through the medium of their master, or his factor, and then it is only *in gross;* and it don't pay.

HENRY CLAY AND NEBRASKA.—Under this heading the *National Intelligencer* publishes the subjoined letter from Gen. Leslie Coombs, to rebut the assertion made by the friends of Douglas's Nebraska bill that Henry Clay was in favour of such a violation of the Missouri Compromise. Whether Mr. Clay would or would not, if he were alive, justify this breach of Southern faith, is not, we think, a question of very great moment. If he were on the stage at this crisis, it is probable he would do as he has done before—step in with a compromise, giving the South all she asked for now, and only kept inviolate so long as it should be of no consequence to the North whether it was broken or kept. As opinions, however, are too often considered and appealed to as arguments, we copy this letter of Gen. Coombs, with the resolutions to which it refers:

"WASHINGTON, April 5, 1854.

"*To Messrs. Gales and Seaton.*

"GENTLEMEN: Inasmuch as Mr. Clay's name has been frequently mentioned and his opinions alluded to in the recent debates on the Nebraska bill, I feel it to be due to his memory, as well as to the truth of history, to give to the public the following resolutions which were written by him and enclosed to me at Lexington, Kentucky, in a letter dated Washington, 22d of December, 1849.

"The words '*within the territories recently acquired from Mexico,*' in the second resolution, were interlined by him. With this exception, there is no change from the original draft in the slightest particular.

"His object was to have them, or some similar ones, presented to the people of Kentucky, without distinction of party, at public meetings to be called for the purpose.

"Very truly, your most obedient servant,

"LESLIE COOMBS."

[COPY.]

1. Resolved, That this meeting is firmly attached to the union of these States, and that they go for it one and indivisible, now and forever.

2. Resolved, That whilst this meeting would be most happy that the controverted question of Slavery within the territories recently acquired from Mexico should be settled in a manner satisfactory to all parts of the Union, no settlement of it, whatever it may, will create any just occasion for dissolving the Union.

3. Resolved, That this meeting beholds, in the dissolution of our glorious Union, no remedy for any alleged evils, real or imaginary, but a great aggravation of them all, and contemplate that deplorable event as the parent of other calamities far transcending in magnitude and fatal consequence any of which complaint is now made.

4. Resolved, That, as far as depends upon us, we will stand by and uphold the Union against all attack from without or within, and against all ultraism, whether at the North or the South.

COLOURED SEAMEN IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—The question in relation to the rights of British (coloured) seamen in South Carolina, has again been brought up in Parliament by a question put by Mr. Kinnaird, on the 20th ult. He asked: "In what state the correspondence between the British and United States Governments, with reference to coloured seamen, being British subjects, on the vessels to which they belong arriving at a port in any of the Southern States, being imprisoned on account of their colour, now is; and whether there would be any objection to lay the correspondence on the table of the House?" to which Lord John Russell answered "that there had been a great deal of correspondence, and beneficial changes had been proposed in Georgia and Carolina, which would soon be carried into effect. But he thought it was better not to produce the correspondence, as hopes were entertained that there would be great improvements in the legislation of the States he had mentioned."

Pretty much the same question and answer may be asked and given any time, probably, for the next two or three years, till everybody is quite tired of the subject. Clearly that famous British Lion does not like putting its nose into a Palmetto tree. "I'm little," said a small man in a row, "but O——!"

A NEW PAPER.—We have received two numbers of a handsomely printed paper, published at Toronto, Canada, under the name of the *Provincial Freeman*. The Rev. S. R. Ward and Alexander M'Arthur are its editors, and it is published by M. A. Shadd, all coloured people. The specimen numbers before us are edited with ability and good taste. The Prospectus says it "will be devoted to Anti-Slavery, Temperance and General Literature. The organ of no particular Political Party, it will open its columns to the views of men of different political opinions, reserving the right, as an independent Journal, of full expression on all questions or projects affecting the people in a political way; and reserving, also, the right to express emphatic condemnation of all projects, having for their object, in a great or remote degree, the subversion of the principles of the British Constitution, or of British rule In the Provinces

"Not committed to the views of any religious sect exclusively, it will carefully observe the rights of every sect, at the same time that a reservation shall be made in favour of an existing difference of opinion, as to the views or actions of the sects respectively."

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT CINCINNATI.—We learn by a Telegraphic dispatch that the Annual Anti-Slavery Convention at Cincinnati assembled on the 11th inst The first topic of discussion seems to have been the Constitutional question, Frederick Douglass on one side and Lucy Stone on the other. The Convention is to be in session three days.

☞ A subscriber at Lockport has sent us his subscription for the *Standard*, but omitted to sign the letter. Will he please send his name?

DOMESTIC CORRESPONDENCE.

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. CXLIV.

THE ARGUMENT.—*Barrenness of News—Why?—Reaction after excitement—Considerateness of Events—The Southern Commercial Convention—Oddities of Trading Idiosyncrasy—Probable causes—Glorious Union of Sindbad and Old Man of the Sea—Conventions and Commerce—Resolutions and Onions—Manufactures and Slavery—Connention-growing—The Correspondent findeth himself preaching and humbleth himself—Gossiping without Gossip—Public Discussion—Between whom—Why prevented—The Correspondent rebuketh the Corresponding Editor—And what for—The Angel Gabriel and the Police—The Archangel bloweth his trumpet on the Common—Who interrupted him—Father Lamson—The Moustache Movement—Disfiguring the Face—The Union Prayer Meeting—How Brother Silas was coolly entreated of them and what he did thereupon—The Correspondent on Father Lamson's Philosophy of clothes—And thanketh him and the Angel Gabriel—His notions as to the manufacture of News, &c. &c. &c.*

BOSTON, April 11, 1854.

You must not expect such another stirring epistle as you had a fortnight ago. No community could stand another week of excitement such as followed the intelligence of the danger which Commissioner Curtis had been in of losing his precious life. A state of Asphyxia would have been inevitably induced by it, and Boston would have incontinently given up the ghost. And it is inevitable that a period of prostration and debility should follow a season of such intense agitation. Accordingly, the last fortnight has been one singularly barren of events. Indeed, Events seem to have forborne happening out of consideration to our exhausted condition. Not even the Southern Commercial Convention, which is sitting, I believe, at this very time, in Charleston, S. C., for the express and deliberate purpose of ruining the North by taking away our business and doing it themselves, has been able to arouse our merchants from the comatose state consequent on the tension to which their nerves were subjected on that agitating occasion. Is it not odd that the same set of men should possess their souls in perfect peace in view of Southern politicians meeting in Convention and spending their days in talk and their nights at Balls for the purpose of transferring our trade to Southern ports, and yet be (or pretend to be) frightened to death when the same chaps threaten to take away from them the privilege of supporting and defending them? I suppose it is because they know that there are natural laws which will hinder Slavery from dancing off their heads, though ever so well inclined, or even from talking them off, and so the Convention and the Balls which are aimed at their prosperity pass them hurtless by. The oddity of the thing is that they don't see that the natural laws which will hinder the slaveholders from ever relieving us of the pleasure of carrying them on our shoulders, are every whit as stringent. It is like Sindbad the Sailor being frightened at the Old Man of the Sea threatening to dissolve his Glorious Union with him. There is no hope of it. And not much more of the bestridden mariner taking a good opportunity to throw the incubus over his head, and trying to do without it. I am waiting anxiously to hear of the results of this hortatory and saltatory assault on our business.

We have heard of "paper blockades," and this is not the first time that the Slaveholders have tried to put a paper embargo on Northern Commerce. If Resolutions were spells strong enough to conjure up shipyards and ships, if Speeches were of power to create skill and supply the want of experience, if laws for imprisoning black sailors were effectual for making able Southern seamen, if hatred of the North for its prosperity could supply the energy and thrifty forecast from which it springs, and if all these together could only alter the Course of Trade and the Laws of Political Economy, then grass would not be growing in the streets of Norfolk, and Charleston would not present the picture of a City dying of premature old age. There have been good store of Conventions within the last twenty-five years, and Resolutions in strings like Weatherfield onions—and as fragrant, though not so wholesome—and yet Trade runs on in its old channels, and Boston and New York will persist in doing the busines of the South on better terms than she can do it on her own account. And so it will continue to do, I suppose, until the Laws of Nature can be repealed by popular vote Even the Cotton manufactures which have been at tempted in the Cotton country, I am assured by pretty good authority, have turned out failures, as a general thing. And that, although they have imported their Superintendents, their hands and their machinery from the North. So that these pestilent Yankees, it seems, can buy the planter's cotton, fetch it a couple of thousand miles or so, make it up, carry it back again and then undersell the manufacturer who has only to carry his cotton from the field to the Mill, and there make it up into cloth. I am afraid that such fellows will always be more than a match for the best organized, the best *speeched* and the best resolutioned Convention that was ever grown in the Southern Country, well-adapted as it is to that particular production. But, upon my soul. I believe I'm beginning to preach! This paragraph sounds for all the world as if I were one of your Editors, instead of the humblest of your Correspondents, and were writing a solemn editorial instead of a gossiping letter.

But it is very hard to write a gossiping letter without anything to gossip about. And that is very much my condition here. There was a prospect, not long since, of some material in a Public Discussion between Mr. Mellen, whom you know as one of your Correspondents and for the part he takes in Anti-Slavery meetings—between him and a Mr. Pratt, popularly known as Orator Pratt, on the Habeas Corpus, the Constitutionality of Slavery, and almost any topic of general interest. The time and place were advertised, the tickets prepared and the public expectant, when, in some way, the thing fell through. I cannot tell what was the cause of this general disappointment; but the one popularly given was that the owners of the Melodeon refused to open the Building without pay in advance. It is hard to believe that so low and mercenary an obstacle could have been suffered to stand between the general mind and the improvement which was proffered it. As it would have been a Meeting free from those arbitrary and tyrannical Rules of Order which are perverted to the suppression of Free Speech, so often, in Anti-Slavery as well as other public assemblies, it might have made an epoch in the history of Free Discussion. Your Corresponding Editor has much to answer for, for the truculent manner in which he has cut short the most promising Orations in mid-career and brought down discursive and soaring spirits from their highest flights. There is a theory, in certain quarters, that he is kept merely to strangle and drown the blind puppies and kittens that find their way into Anti-Slavery Meetings. As my acquaintance with that person is of a very slight and perfunctory nature, I am unable to pronounce with certainty on this point. I only know that he has called *me* to order a great many times, and obliged me to take my seat without having said what I wanted to. And it's unknown what the world has lost thereby—unknown as were the tears Mrs Malaprop shed for her poor dear husband. So it is the more vexatious that a Meeting which would have been free from any such malign predominance, should have been hindered by the covetous apprehensions of sordid Corporation. It is a proverb, you know, that a Corporation is a Person, that has no body to be picked and no soul to be d—d; and this behaviour of the Melodeon will go near to make it thought so.

Nor is this the only interference with Free Speech which I have to record. So audacious has the spirit of tyranny become that hands have been laid on no less a personage than the Archangel Gabriel himself, for blowing on the trumpet which typifies him and addressing the audience which his blast had collected together. One claiming to hold this place in the Celestial Hierarchy (whether "a Shining One," I cannot say, never having had the vision of him) has for one or two Sundays held forth on the steps of the Custom-house and other public places, without much molestation from the police. But on Thursday last, being the Day set apart for Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer (sometimes called the Governor's Sunday), the Archangel had appointed a Meeting on the Common, and on blowing his trumpet, he gathered together a numerous auditory. But while he was delivering his message to them, Orator Pratt, mentioned above in connection with another memorable matter, availed himself of the result of the Archangelic blast to make a speech on his own hook. This created *a diversion*, in both senses of the word, and the new speaker carried after him a large proportion of the assembled saints. But this was not all, for the venerable Silas Lamson, usually known as Father Lamson, the patriarch of the Moustache Movement, who has not "disfigured his face" (as he aptly denominates the unnatural practice of reaping the chin) for forty years, he, too, had been suffering in the cause of Freedom of Speech and came to vindicate it. It seems that there was a Union Prayer Meeting appointed for that morning, previous to the regular services in the churches, at which members of the various Evangelical Churches assisted, at the Tremont Temple, I believe. Father Lamson, it seems, considering himself as coming within the invitation, appeared there and proposed taking a prominent part in the services. But the brethren, for reasons best known to themselves, declined his assistance, and, carrying him to a safe place, put him under lock and key, until they had finished their united prayers. Then releasing him, he proceeded to the Common, where he claimed his third of the Archangel's Congregation, and so lively an effect did this triple prediction have on that assembly, that the profane police took the preachers into custody, and conveyed them to the watch-house, their steps being followed by three or four thousand enthusiastic hearers of the word, who gave three cheers for each of the Martyrs when the key was turned on them. After service was over in the churches, they were released.

I don't know whether this little chapter of Martyrology will be edifying to your readers or not. But it is the best I have to give them. Father Lamson has long been a picturesque variety in the monotones of our street scenery. For, besides his long beard, he wears a suit of clothes, of his own model, made of white woolen cloth, a white hat and white shoes. His reason for this peculiarity of costume is, that it is wrong to take any trouble that is not absolutely necessary (a sentiment in which, for one, I most cordially agree with him), and so he will not permit the superfluity of a dye-pot to come near the hem of his garments. He is thought by the many, to be a little beside himself; but I do not see any necessary evidences of mental distemperature in this his Philosophy of Clothes, and as to his long hair, why he will very soon find himself on the side of the majority. He generally carries a scythe handle over his shoulder, he being the patentee of some improvement in that article, which he invented, so that he is no bad representative of Father Time. He is a well meaning and harmless old man, who molests nobody, excepting when he is moved to speak in public meetings, and then he is not unamenable to reason and kind treatment. At any rate, I am much obliged to him and to the Angel Gabriel and the other orator, for the assistance they have given me in making out my tale of paragraphs. If you find it dry and husky, you must blame the times and not me. I am willing to do what is reasonable towards the invention of news for you. But you ask for too much if you expect me to manufacture it out of the whole cloth. I wish, as a general thing, to have some small ground of truth to go upon. My Romances must be founded upon Fact.—D. Y.

SUMMARY.

Gerrit Smith announces that Dr. Beaumont, of Ohio, has manumitted a family of slaves which he owned, and which lived in Washington.

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe and daughter, and Miss Catharine Beecher, are now at Dr. Munde's Water Cure, in Northampton, Mass.

A fugitive slave who had "footed it" all the way from Charleston, S. C., to New Bedford, was "expressed" thence to Boston by Col. Hatch, on Monday, and then took the "underground" for Canada.

Parson Brownlow, of the Knoxville Whig, recently advertised himself thus: "The editor of this paper proposes to deliver a discourse to-morrow at Temperance Hall, at 11 o'clock, upon the subject of human depravity, proving his position by the Bible first, and next by Knoxville!"

FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.—The gross and criminal act of Vandalism at Washington, which was mentioned some weeks since as resulting in the destruction of the block of marble presented by the Pope of Rome as his contribution to the national monument, has not yet been traced to the perpetrator. The Washington Monument Association offers a reward of $500 for his detection.

George F. Alberti publishes a card denying the report which appeared in the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, that he acted as hangman at the execution of Jewell, in Pittsburgh, or that he is a resident of Baltimore. As shows conclusively that he was in this city on the day of the execution. It is said that Alberti is about to bring a libel suit against Mr. Cummings, editor of the *Bulletin*.

THE METHODIST BOOK CONCERN BEFORE THE U. S. SUPREME COURT.—A telegraphic despatch from Washington, dated April 6, reports, that the case of Wm. A. Smith *agt.* Leroy Swormstedt, is now before the Supreme Court on appeal, from the State Court of Ohio. The question involves a division of the property of the Methodist Book Concern located in the West. Able counsel are engaged, and much interest is manifested by the crowds who throng the Court-room.

NEGRO HUNG.—We find in the Baltimore *American* an item to the effect that, about ten or fifteen days ago, the overseer of Judge Worthington, at Point Washington, in Mississippi, was killed by one of his negroes. The murderer fled, but was pursued, caught, and lodged in jail at Greenville. On Sunday, the 19th ultimo, some forty overseers from the neighbouring plantations forcibly took him from the jailor, and carried him to Princeton, near the scene of the murder, and hung him. The occurrence had created great excitement in the neighbourhood.

INFORMATION WANTED.—Henry Cregg, formerly held as a slave, by John Lemmon, of Trimble Co., Kent cky, near Milton, from whence this young man escaped for his freedom about four years ago. The mother of Henry Cregg, together with five of her children, are now in Canada anxious to know the whereabouts of a lost son and brother.

Any information given or sent to this office, respecting this man, will be most gratefully received by Mrs. Cregg.—*Voice of the Fugitive.*

CAUTION TO FUGITIVES.—BEWARE of "Wolves in sheep's clothing." If any professed friend refuses to aid you or your friends in making their escape from Slavery, unless they are paid an extravagant price for it, they are not to be trusted: no matter whether they are white or black. Recent facts communicated to us by the Fugitives fresh from under the American slave whip, has warranted us in giving this word of caution. We shall mention no names now for prudential reasons. But we have it from good authority that a certain free coloured man has been extorting from poor persons, from fifty to three hundred dollars for about three or four days of their time, in aiding fugitives on their escape. Such persons are unsafe to be trusted as conductors on the Underground Railroad. We fear that if the slave-hunters would pay him a higher price to betray a Fugitive than he could get for assisting him on the railroad, that the poor Fugitive would be betrayed and dragged back into a living death.—*Ibid.*

THE UNDERGROUND ROAD.—The arrivals by the Underground Road, during the past week have been quite numerous. Virginia and Maryland seem to be less attractive than the ice-mountains of Canada, to many in those States, judging from the extraordinary efforts they make to get away, and the preference they express for their present condition. It must be exceedingly trying to the good masters—for they are all good in their own estimation—to have to endure the loss of such "fat and sleek" servants. Those we have seen and conversed with are intelligent, for their opportunities, and if they improve those within their reach, as they seem anxious to do, they will be valuable accessions to our emigrant population. We have, among the late arrivals, three promising persons named Mercer, Gillam and Clayton, and a clever family named Meredith—all we believe from the nursery of Presidents, and all making industrious efforts. The past week other arrivals of fugitives took place, and also some of another class of persons—free people from northern States.—(*Toronto*) *Provincial Freeman.*

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.—Three likely young men arrived here yesterday from Virginia. We have not yet learned the particulars respecting their escape.

Another arrived to-day, who we found on interrogating him, to be an imposter, although he succeded in gulling the conductors of the Underground Railroad, and got a free passage thereon to this depot. It is a little strange that our conductors at Cleveland, Ohio, will allow men to pass through their hands, or to take passage on our cars, without due examination or reliable information of their being actually fugitives from Slavery. We had not conversed with this lad ten minutes before we discovered that he was an impos or, and extorted from him the fact that he was born and raised in Philadelphia, Pa. We then made him take a book and read.

Since the above was written, two more have arrived on the express train from the South. Mrs. Catherine Steel and daughter escaped from under the special charge of Dr. James Johnston, of Louisville, Ky., to the hospitable shores of Canada West.

They wish us to say to the Doctor, through our Voice, that they are much pleased with their adopted home. Mrs. Steel thinks that the change of climate, together with the radical change of American Slavery for British Freedom has greatly improved her daughter's health: and if he has any communications to make to them, that the same must be addressed to her at this office.—*Voice of the Fug.*

SALT WATER FUGITIVE.—We find the following in the Savannah *Courier* of Saturday last:

"We are informed that the description of the late outside passenger by the Keystone State answers very well to that of a lost negro man belonging to Mr. Dean, of Macon. Measures have been taken by the claimant and the agent of the Philadelphia steamers for this city, to ascertain the truth. The slave is said to have been recently brought from Maryland to Georgia."

We know the man to be a free man, and that his freedom has been fully proved by disinterested witnesses and persons in no way identified with Abolitionists. He has been known in this city for nineteen or twenty years, and he was imprisoned in Delaware, *not as a slave*, but because Captain Hardie made an *affidavit* that he believed him to be a *fugitive from justice*. On this he was committed, and if he is taken away as a slave he will be kidnapped. We trust the Captain will, when called upon, be able to show on what his "belief" that he was a fugitive from *justice* was founded. The man should not be suffered to remain in prison for the purpose of trumping up a claimant, after he has been set free by the laws of a slave State, on proof, and solemnly sworn into jail on a *criminal* charge. We shall begin to think that this whole affair is a serious violation of rights which should be looked into, if it is not speedily settled, and the man restored to freedom. By his oath, Captain Hardie has made it necessary for an indictment to be obtained in Georgia, and a requisition from the Governor of that State to be made on the Governor of Delaware before the accused can be removed; for, by the laws of Delaware, he is free—proved so, and decided to be so. He now awaits the proof that he is a criminal, and a requisition in the regular course of law. Let him have that or let him have his freedom, without unnecessary delay.—*Phil. Reg.*

We have received a copy of the Carolina *Spartan*, containing the subjoined paragraph, accompanied with these words written on the margin: "Notice this fellow; he was worthy of it, and he will do to offset against that nigger you said was burned in Mississippi.—*Charleston, March 26.*"

"The death of Judge O'Neal's body servant, who has been his master's constant travelling companion for many years, is thus spoken of by the Judge in the *Southern Patriot*. If this notice should happen to strike the eye of any of our Abolition friends, we hope they will give the State some credit, for it is generally known that Daniel was a man of undoubted piety.

"He was born the property of Samuel Kelly, my maternal grandfather, about 1794. By his will he passed to my grandmother, Hannah Kelly. By her will became my property in 1820. From that time to his death he has been my travelling companion, servant and friend. He was the coachman of my family, and whether I was present or not, I always knew they were safe, if he held the reins.

"Never, in the long period of thirty-four years, did he fail in a duty, or was false to me, in any particular. His horses were always the fattest horses drove anywhere. I scarcely ever had to call him, when he was with me on the circuit. His general health had been bad for years. His last illness was about twenty-one days. To me he was invaluable. But I do not complain. God has taken him, and he is, I trust, in an everlasting rest.

"I give this statement as due to him, and also to show our Abolition people at the North and West who and what are our slaves."

The illegal scribbling on the margin of a newspaper is in harmonious temper with the title of the paper—the *Spartan*—each Spartan having in ancient times considered theft a virtue unless discovered, and living like thieves on the forced labour of slaves. *We* never said a negro was burned in Mississippi: a paragraph did, and the fact turned out that the date and the cause simply were wrong, not the fact. All we have to respond to Judge O'Neal is, that if the "nigger" in question did drive fat horses, that is no reason for having kept him in Slavery. The pious resignation of the Judge is beyond all praise. We hope when the fat horses die we may have a paragraph on the subject—postpaid.

The *Spartan*, as above, advertises "one negro man Bob, sold as the property of Wm. Fowler, at the suit of the State for taxes." This is truly a Sp

Miscellaneous Department.

HOLLAND HOUSE.

IN TWO CHAPTERS—CHAPTER THE SECOND.

Holland House, after Addison's death, remained in possession of the Warwick family and of their heir, Lord Kensington, who came of the family of Edwardes, till it was purchased of his lordship by Henry Fox, who subsequently became a lord himself and took his title from the mansion. This was about a hundred years ago, in the beginning of the reign of George the Third.

Henry Fox, the first Lord Holland of the new race, was the younger son of that marvellous old gentleman, Sir Stephen Fox, who, after having had a numerous offspring by one wife, at the age of seventy-six married another, and had three more children, two of whom founded the noble families of Holland and Ilchester. It was reported that he had been a singing-boy in a cathedral. Walpole says he was a footman; and the late Lord Holland, who was a man of too noble a nature to affect ignorance of these traditions, candidly owns that he was a man of "very humble origin." Noble families must begin with somebody; and with whom could the new one have better begun than with this stout and large hearted gentleman, who after doing real service to the courts in which he rose, and founding institutions for the benefit of his native place, closed a life full of health, activity, and success, in the eighty-ninth year of his age?

Henry Fox was as full of vitality as his father, and he carried the stock higher; but though very knowing, he was not so wise, and did not end so happily. With him began the first parliamentary emulation between Fox and a Pitt, which so curiously descended to their sons. Many persons now living remember the second rivalry. The first was so like it, that Walpole, in one of his happy comprehensive dashes, describes the House of Commons, for a certain period, as consisting of "a dialogue between Pitt and Fox." Fox had begun life as a partisan of Sir Robert Walpole; and in the course of his career held lucrative offices under Government—that of Paymaster of the Forces, for one—in which he enriched himself to a degree which incurred a great deal of suspicion. He was latterly denounced in a City address, as the "defaulter of unaccountable millions." Public accounts in those times were strangely neglected; and the family have said, that his were in no worse condition than those of others: but they do not deny that he was a jobber. However, he jobbed and prospered; ran away with a duke's daughter; contrived to reconcile himself with the family (that of Richmond); got his wife made a baroness; was made a lord himself, Baron Holland of Foxley; was a husband, notwithstanding his jobbing, loving and beloved; was an indulgent father; a gay and social friend; in short, had as happy a life of it as health and spirit could make; till, unfortunately, health and spirit failed; and then there seems to have been a remnant of his father's better portion within him, which did not allow him to be so well satisfied with himself in his decline. Outtricked and got rid of by the flighty Lord Shelburne, and forsaken by the selfish friends with whom he had jobbed, and made merry, and laughed at principle, he tried, in retirement, to divert his melancholy with building a villa at Kingsgate, between Margate and Broadstairs, in a style equally expensive and fantastic, from which he made visits across the channel to France and Italy. He also endeavoured to get some comfort out of a few other worthless persons, such as George Selwyn and Lord March afterwards Duke of Queensberry ("Old Q."), gentlemen who, not being in want of places, had abided by him. But all would not do. He returned home and died at Holland house, twenty years younger than his father; and he was followed in less than a month by his wife. It is said that a day or two before his death, George Selwyn, who had a passion for seeing dead bodies, sent to ask how he was, and whether a visit would be welcome. "Oh, by all means," said Lord Holland. "If I am alive, I shall be delighted to see George—and I know, that if I am dead, he will be delighted to see me."

A curious story is told of the elopement of the Duke of Richmond's daughter, Lady Caroline Lenox, who thus speedily followed her husband to the grave. The Duke was a grandson of King Charles the Second, and both he and the Duchess had declined to favour the suit of Mr. Fox, the son of the equivocal Sir Stephen. They reckoned on her marrying another man; and an evening was appointed on which the gentleman was to be formally introduced as her suitor. Lady Caroline, whose affections the dashing statesman had secretly engaged, was at his wit's end to know how to baffle this interview. She had evaded the choice of the family as long as possible, but this appointment looked like a crisis. The gentleman is to come in the evening: the lady is to prepare for his reception by a more than ordinary attention to her toilet. This gives her the cue to what is to be done. The more than ordinary attention is paid; but it is in a way that renders the interview impossible. She has cut off her eyebrows. How can she be seen by anybody in such a trim? The indignation of the Duke and Duchess is great; but the thing is manifestly impossible. She is accordingly left to herself for the night; she has perfected her plans in expectation of that result; and the consequence is, that when next her parents inquire for her, she has gone. Nobody can find her. She is off for Mr. Fox.

At the corner of Holland House Lane—the lane that is now shut up—is a public house, the Holland Arms, the sign of which is the family scutcheon. The supporters of the shield are a couple of foxes, and in this emblazonment of it—for the arms in the peerages have no device—one of the foxes holds a rose in his mouth. The rose is the cognisance of the Richmond family, and is possibly an allusion to the stolen bud.

Lady Caroline appears to have been truly attached to her husband. Her death so soon after his own was not improbably occasioned by it; and when he procured her the title of Baroness, before he was ennobled himself, she put up their joint coat of arms in the house, where it is still to be seen, with the motto *Re e Marito* (king and husband); as much as to say, that she derived her honours equally from both.

But the Fox family, during this lord's prosperity, had been forced to suffer what they considered a degradation, in turn. One of the amusements in Holland House was the performance of plays. It had formerly been a court custom, as it now is again; but Queen Elizabeth, like Queen Victoria, had the plays performed by professional actors. Among those actors, in the days of the Tudors and Stuarts, were children; and hence children in private life subsequently figured sometimes as amateurs. We have mentioned a picture in Holland House, by Hogarth, representing the performance of a play of Dryden by children, one of whom was a grand-niece of Sir Isaac Newton. In the January of the year seventeen hundred and sixty-one, Horace Walpole was present at a performance of this kind in Holland House, which greatly entertained him. But the account of it had better be given in his own words.

"I was exceedingly amused (says he) on Tuesday night. There was a play at Holland House, acted by children; not all children, for Lady Sarah Lenox and Lady Susan Strangeways played the women. It was Jane Shore. Mr Price, Lord Barrington's nephew, was Glo'ster, and acted better than three parts of the comedians; Charles Fox, Hastings; a little Nichols, who spoke well, Belmour; Lord Ofaly, Lord Ashbroke, and other boys, did the rest. But the two girls were delightful, and acted with so much nature and simplicity, that they appeared the very things they represented. Lady Sarah was more beautiful than you can conceive, and her very awkwardness gave an air of truth to the shame of the part and the antiquity of the time, which was kept up by her dress, taken out of Montfaucon. Lady Susan was dressed from Jane Seymour; and all the parts were clothed in ancient habits, and with the most minute propriety. When Lady Sarah was in white, with her hair about her ears, and on the ground, no Magdalen by Corregio was half so lovely and expressive. You would have been charmed, too, with seeing Mrs Fox's little boy of six years old, who is beautiful, and acted the Bishop of Ely, dressed in lawn sleeves and with a square cap. They inserted two lines for him, which he could hardly speak plainly." (This little boy died a general in the year eighteen hundred and eleven).

So far, so good; and Horace Walpole is enchanted with young ladies who act plays. But young ladies who act plays are apt to become enchanted with actors; and three years after this performance of Jane Shore, a catastrophe occurs at Ilchester House, which makes Horace vituperate such enchantments as loudly as if he had never encouraged them. O'Brien, a veritable actor at the public theatres, runs away with the noble friend of Jane Shore, the charming Lady Susan; and the Foxes, and the Walpoles, and all other admirers of amateur performances, are in despair; not excepting, of course, the runner away with the duke's daughter. Horace, forgetting what he said of Sir Stephen, or perhaps calling it desperately to mind, declares that it would have been better had the man been a footman, because an actor is so well-known, and there is no smuggling him in among gentlefolk. The worst of it was, that Horace had not only been loud in praise of the young lady's theatricals, but had eulogised this very O'Brien as a better representative of men of fashion than Garrick himself. Perhaps it was his eulogy that made the lady fall in love. And O'Brien was really a distinguished actor, and probably as much of a gentleman off the stage as on it. Nay, to say nothing of the doubt which has been thrown upon the legitimacy of Horace himself (who is suspected to have been the son of Carr, Lord Hervey), the player may even have come of a better house than a Walpole; for the Walpoles, though of an ancient, were but of a country-gentleman stock; whereas the name of O'Brien is held to be a voucher for a man's coming of race royal. We do not mean by these remarks to advocate intermarriage between different ranks. There is well-founded objection to them in the difference of education and manner, and the discord which is likely to ensue on all sides. But their general unadvisedness must not render us unjust to exceptions. The Earl of Derby some time afterwards was thought to have married good breeding itself in the person of Miss Farren the actress; and though O'Brien, instead of being smuggled in among the gentlefolk whom he so well represented, was got off with his wife to America, their afterlives are recorded as having been equally happy and respectable. Lady Susan, after all, made a better match of it with her actor than Lady Sarah—who afterwards divorced—with her baronet.

So much for the plays in Holland House, and the vicissitudes in the marriages of the Foxes.

Stephen, second Lord Holland, though by no means destitute of natural abilities or vivacity, appears to have had in his composition too great a predominance of the animal nature over the spiritual. Hence an apoplectic tendency, which took him off at the age of nine-and-twenty.

But Stephen had a brother, afterwards the celebrated Charles James Fox, the "man of the people," who, however he may have indulged himself in the same way, had life enough to keep him wide awake (and others too), for nearly twice the time. Indeed, he may be said, during his youth, to have had too much life; more animal vitality in him, and robustness of body to bear it out, than he well knew what to do with. And his father is said to have encouraged it by never thwarting his will in anything. Thus the boy expressing a desire one day to "smash a watch," the father, after ascertaining that the little gentleman did positively feel such a desire, and was not disposed to give it up, said, "Well, if you must, I suppose you must;" and the watch was smashed. Another time, having been promised that he should see a portion of a wall pulled down, and the demolition having taken place while he was absent, and a new portion supplied, the latter itself was pulled down, in order that the father's promise might be kept, and the boy not disappointed. The keeping of the promise was excellent, and the wall well sacrificed; but not so the watch; and much less the guineas with which his father is absolutely said to have tempted him to the gaming table, out of a foolish desire to see the boy employed like himself! Habits ensued which became alarming to the old gamester himself, and which impeded the rise, injured the reputation, and finally nullified that supremacy on the part of the son, which was borne away from him by the inferior but more decorous nature of Pitt.

Fox was a great lesson as to what is good and what is bad in fatherly indulgence. All that was good in him it made better; all that was bad it made worse. And it would have made it worse still, had not the good luckily preponderated, and thus made the best at last even of the bad. Charles was to have his way as a child; so he smashed watches. He was to have his way as a youth; so he gambled and was dissolute. He was to have his way as a man; so he must be in Parliament, and get power, and vote as his father did, on the Tory side, because his father had indulged him, and he must indulge his father. But his father died, and then the love of sincerity which had been taught him as a bravery and a predominance, was encouraged to break forth by the galling of his political trammels; and though he could not refuse his passions the indulgence, till friends rescued him from insolvency, and thus piqued his gratitude into amendment, that very circumstance tended to show that he added strength and largeness of heart to his father's softness; for the spoilt child and reckless gamester, finally settled down as the representative of a nobler age that was coming, and was the charm in private of all who admired simplicity of manners and the perfection of good sense. Apart from this love of truth, we do not take him, in any respect, to have been profound, or to have seen beyond the next generation. What was greatest in Charles Fox was his freedom from nonsense, pettiness, and pretension. He could by no means admit that greater was smaller, or the rights of the American and French nations inferior to those of their princes. He envied no man for his good qualities; felt under no necessity of considering his dignity with young or old; thought humanity at large superior to any particular forms of it; and in becoming its representative in circles which would have conceded such a privilege to none but a man of birth, enabled them to feel how charming it was.

The spoilt child prevailed so long in the life of Fox, and to all appearance so irremediably, that accounts of him at different periods seem hardly recording the same man.

To give instances, in as few words as possible. We have seen the smashing of the watch.

When a youth he was a great admirer of peerages and ribbons; and on his return from his first visit to the continent he appeared in red-heeled shoes, and a feather in his hat—the greatest fopperies of the day.

His father paid a hundred and forty thousand pounds for his gaming debts.

He took to the other extreme in dress, and became as slovenly as he had been foppish.

On coming into office he showed that he could be as industrious as he had been idle.

Whenever he was in office he never touched a card; and when his political friends, out of a sense of what was due to his public services, finally paid his debts, and made him easy for life, he left off play entirely.

He dressed decently and simply, and settled down for the remainder of his life into the domestic husband, the reader of books, and the lover of country retirement, from which he could not bear to be absent for a day.

In Holland House Fox passed his boyhood and part of his youth. He is not much associated with it otherwise, except as a name. He and a friend, one day, without a penny in their pockets, walked thither from Oxford, a distance of fifty-six miles; for the purpose, we suppose, of getting a supply. They resolved to do it without stopping on the road; but the day was hot; an alehouse became irresistable; and on arriving at their journey's end, Charles thus addressed his father, who was drinking his coffee: "You must send half a guinea or a guinea, without loss of time, to the alehouse-keeper at Nettlebed, to redeem the gold watch you gave me some years ago, and which I have left in pawn there for a pot of porter."

A little before he died, at fifty eight years of age, of a dropsy, he drove several times with his wife to Holland House, and looked about the grounds with a melancholy tenderness.

But, notwithstanding the celebrity of Charles Fox, and that of Addison himself, the man who has drawn the greatest attention to Holland House, if not in his own person, yet certainly by the effect of his personal qualities and attainments upon other people, was Fox's nephew, the late Lord Holland, Henry Richard, third of the title. He succeeded to the title before he was a year old; rescued the old mansion from ruin, as before noticed; and with allowance for visits to the continent and occasional residence in town, may be said to have passed his whole life in it, between enjoyments of his books and hospitalities to wits and worthies of all parties.

Lord Holland was a man of elegant literature, of liberal politics, and great benevolence. Travelling like other young noblemen on the continent, but extending his acquaintance with it beyond most of them, and going into Spain, his inclinations became directed to the writers of that country, and his feelings deeply interested in the political struggles. The consequence was a work in two volumes, containing the Lives of Lope de Vega a Guillen de Castro, a translation of three Spanish comedies, and the most hospitable and generous services to the patriots who suffered exile in the cause of their country's freedom. The lives, though not profound (for he was educated in a school of criticism anterior to that of Coleridge and the Germans), are excellent as far as they go, written with classical correctness, and full of the most pleasing and judicious remarks. How he formed that unbounded admiration of Bonaparte, which has lately transpired in his posthumous Recollections of Foreign Courts, it is difficult to say. The admiration, we have no doubt, was driven into inconsistency by the hypocrisy and broken promises of Bonaparte's enemies, the kings and ministers, who pretended to oppose him in behalf of freedom. Privately the late Lord Holland will be remembered only for his benevolence, and for the great increase of pleasant associations which he has given to Holland House; publicly, there is one reigning circumstance in his career, which will procure him a niche in the parliamentary history of his times, equally unique and beautiful—and that is, that whenever a measure was carried through the House of Lords which was not of a just or generous nature, Lord Holland's "Protest" against it was sure to be placed upon the records. There is a book of his, also, which will live; anothern posthumous work, entitled Remipiscences of the Whig Party. It is written, not only with correctness and elegance, but with a charming mixture of acuteness and good nature—of the sharp and the sweet—the "true pine-apple flavour;" and contains some masterly portraitures of character.

Lord Holland had a constitutional tendency to gout, which, until he was married, he kept under by hard riding and hunting. During the last twenty years of his life his gout conspired with his love of books to render him less and less active, until at last he became wholly confined to his chair, and the disease killed him at the age of sixty-seven.—*Household Words.*

From The (London) Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SLAVERY IN CHINA.

A curious document has been kindly placed in our hands, of which we subjoin a translation. It is the original bill of sale, by which a Chinese lad, born free, was transferred, as a slave, by his own father, to a third party. We are informed upon the very best authority, that such transactions are by no means uncommon. It is notorious that Slavery is one of the domestic institutions of China. We hope ere long to be able to lay before our readers some further particulars on this subject, and trust that the appointment of Dr. (now Sir) John Bowring, to the important office of Governor of Hong Kong, and Chief Superintendent of British Trade, may be the means of introducing the question of emancipation in that ancient empire, the strong barriers of which, modern civilization is rapidly breaking down. Sir John Bowring has, in past times, rendered essential service to the cause, and his recent unsparing and vigorous exposures of the nefarious dealing of the Chinese Coolie-emigration agent at Amoy and elsewhere, prove that he is still on the alert in behalf of humanity. It is difficult to foresee what the opening of the Chinese empire, under a new dynasty, is likely to do, but we may hope that the introduction of even the spurious Christianity of the "rebel party," may prove the precursor of freedom to those who are in bonds. It would be a singular spectacle to see China renounce domestic Slavery, under the influence of a semi-Christianity, whilst America, boasting of her freedom and her religious and political institutions, clings to the abomination.

A SON SOLD AS A SLAVE.

"I, the executor of this deed of sale, Le wan foo, being destitute of funds for the purchase of food, became desirous, after consultation with my wife, of selling as a slave my own begotten, second son, named A Chaou, aged fourteen years, having been born in the noon watch of the 15th day of the 5th month of the Woo Kea year, the 14th of Taou Wang. I therefore gave information of my intention to the chief of my clan, and first sought for a purchaser among my relatives without sucess. Since, by the instrumentality of the middleman Kwang Wei Pang, a purchaser has been found in Chang Pih Jin. It has been agreed by the two parties in the presence of the middleman that the price should be 40,000 copper cash; and I, Le Wan Foo, have this day taken my second son A Chaou, and delivered him over as slave to Chang Pih Jin, by whom his name is to be altered at pleasure, and whom he is to serve to the end of his life. Should his master hereafter give him a wife, and he should have born to him sons or daughters, they shall from generation to generation be attached to the house of Chang Pih Jin as slaves, and be in all things subject to the control of their master without any interference on the part of my, Le Wan Foo's family. I, Le Wan Foo, have already received in full with my own hands the sole price of the person. Should there in future be any question about his origin, the seller and middleman shall be themselves answerable, the purchaser having no concern therewith. This is a case of distinct sale and purchase, without objection from either side, not a transfer in redemption of debt, nor a case of constrained sale or of forcible seizure. As an oral agreement affords no proof, I have specially drawn up this deed of sale, attached to it the impression of my forefinger, and my signature, and handed it to the purchaser to be held by him in witness of the above. This is the truth.

"1. Truly paid over into the hand of Le Wan Foo by Chang Pih Jin in purchase of a slave, the price amounting to 40,000 copper cash.

"2. Truly negotiated by the middleman Kwang Wei Pang, who witnessed the distinct sale of Le A Chaou as a slave, and the delivery of that person and of his price to the respective parties.

"(Signed) the Middleman, Kwang Wei Pang.

"Deed of sale of his own son executed on the 21st day of the third month of the 27th Taou kwang year, by Le Wan Foo.

"Signature and impression of the forefinger of the left hand of Le Wan Foo."

THE LATE MR. JUSTICE TALFOURD.

BY CHARLES DICKENS.

The readers of these pages will have known, many days before the present number can come into their hands, that on Monday the thirteenth of March, this upright judge and good man died suddenly at Stafford in the discharge of his duties. Mercifully spared protracted pain and mental decay, he passed away in a moment, with words of Christian eloquence, of brotherly tenderness and kindness towards all men, yet unfinished on his lips.

As he died, he had always lived. So amiable a man, so gentle, so sweet-tempered, of such a noble simplicity, so perfectly unspoiled by his labours and their rewards, is very rare indeed upon this earth. These lines are traced by the faltering hand of a friend; but none can so fully know how true they are, as those who knew him under all circumstances, and found him ever the same.

In his public aspects; in his poems, in his speeches, on the bench, at the bar, in Parliament; he was widely appreciated, honoured, and beloved. Inseparable as his great and varied abilities were from himself in life, it is yet to himself and not to them, that affection in its first grief naturally turns. They remain, but he is lost.

The chief delight of his life was to give delight to others. His nature was so exquisitely kind, that to be kind was its highest happiness. Those who had the privilege of seeing him in his own home when his public successes were greatest—so modest, so contented with little things, so interested in humble persons and humble efforts, so surrounded by children and young people, so adored in remembrance of a domestic generosity and greatness of heart too sacred to be unveiled here, can never forget the pleasure of that sight.

If ever there were a house, in England justly celebrated for the reverse of the picture, where every art was honoured for its own sake, and where every visitor was received for his own claims and merits, that house was his. It was in this respect a great example, as sorely needed as it will be sorely missed. Rendering all legitimate deference to rank and riches, there never was a man more composedly, unaffectedly, quietly, immovable by such considerations than the subject of this sorrowing remembrance. On the other hand, nothing would have astonished him so much as the suggestion that he was anybody's patron or protector. His dignity was ever of that highest and purest sort which has no occasion to proclaim itself, and which is not in the least afraid of losing itself.

In the first joy of his appointment to the judicial bench, he made a summer-visit to the sea-shore, "to share his exultation in the gratification of his long-cherished ambition, with the friend"—now among the many friends who mourn his death and lovingly recall his virtues. Lingering in the bright moonlight at the close of a happy day, he spoke of his new functions, of his sense of the great responsibility he undertook, and of his placid belief that the habits of his professional life rendered him equal to their efficient discharge; but, above all, he spoke, with an earnestness never more to be separated in his friend's mind from the murmur of the sea upon a moonlight night, of his reliance on the strength of his desire to do right before God and man. He spoke with his own singleness of heart, and his solitary hearer knew how deep and true his purpose was. They passed, before parting for the night, into a playful dispute at what age he should retire, and what he would do at three score years and ten. And ah! within five short years, it is all ended like a dream!

But, by the strength of his desire to do right, he was animated to the last moment of his existence. Who, knowing England at this time, would wish to utter with his last breath a more righteous warning than that its curse is ignorance, or a miscalled education which is as bad or worse, and a want of the exchange of innumerable graces and sympathies among the various orders of society, each hardened unto each and holding itself aloof? Well will it be for us and for our children, if those dying words be never henceforth forgotten on the Judgment Seat.

An example in his social intercourse to those who are born to station, an example equally to those who win it for themselves; teaching the one class to abate its stupid pride: the other, to stand upon its eminence, not forgetting the road by which it got there, and fawning upon no one; the conscientious judge, the charming writer, and accomplished speaker, the gentle-hearted, guileless, affectionate man, has entered on a brighter world. Very, very many have lost a friend; nothing in Creation has lost an enemy.

The hand that lays this poor flower on his grave, was a mere boy's when he first clasped it—newly come from the work in which he himself began life—little used to the plough it has followed since—obscure enough, with much to correct and learn. Each of its successive tasks through many interesting years has been cheered by his warmest interest, and the friendship then begun has ripened to maturity in the passage of time; but there was no more self-assertion or condescension in his winning goodness at first, than at last. The success of other men made as little change in him as his own.

THE TWO ANGELS.

BY H. W. LONGFELLOW.

Two angels, one of Life and one of Death,
Passed o'er the village as the morning broke;
The dawn was on their faces, and beneath,
The sombre houses hearsed with plumes of smoke.

Their attitude and aspect were the same,
Alike their features and their robes of white;
But one was crowned with amaranth, as with flame,
And one with asphodels, like flakes of light

I saw them pause on their celestial way;
Then said I, with deep fear and doubt oppressed:
"Beat not so loud, my heart, lest thou betray
The place where thy beloved are at rest!"

And he who wore the crown of asphodels,
Descending, at my door began to knock,
And my soul sank within me, as in wells
The waters sink before an earthquake's shock.

I recognised the nameless agony,
The terror and the tremour and the pain,
That oft before had filled and haunted me,
And now returned with threefold strength again.

The door I opened to my heavenly guest,
And listened, for I thought I heard God's voice;
And knowing whatso'er he sent was best,
Dared neither to lament nor to rejoice.

Then with a smile, that filled the house with light,
"My errand is not Death, but Life," he said:
And ere I answered, passing out of sight,
On his celestial embassy he sped.

'Twas at thy door, O friend! and not at mine,
The angel with the amaranthine wreath
Passing descended, and with voice divine,
Whispered a word that had a sound like Death.

Then fell upon the house a sudden gloom,
A shadow on those features fair and thin;
And softly, from that hushed and darkened room,
Two angels issued, where but one went in.

All is of God! If He but wave his hand,
The mists collect, the rain falls thick and loud,
Till with a smile of light on sea and land,
Lo! he looks back from the departing cloud.

Angels of Life and Death alike are His;
Without his leave they pass no threshold o'er;
Who, then, would wish or dare, believing this,
Against his messengers to shut the door?

—*Putnam's Magazine for April.*

MUSIC IN THE PURITAN CHURCHES.

The first book printed in America was the "Bay Psalm Book," which was compiled in 1640, by an association of New England ministers. Its introduction met with great opposition, as the oldest of the Puritans on these shores were attached to Ainsworth's version of the Psalms, which they brought with them to this country. The Salem churches used Ainsworth's work until 1667, and the Plymouth church did not relinquish it until 1692. The Puritan churches of the colonies were much divided in sentiment upon questions incident to the subject of music in the sanctuary. The records of the times show that the colonists were much "exercised in their consciences" in regard to whether the singing of the Psalms of David with a lively voice was proper under the New Testament dispensation. Whether *women* as well as men, or men alone should sing; whether the "Pagans" (the unconverted) should be allowed to sing with the church members. Many persons thought the old familiar tunes were inspired, and were therefore opposed to the introduction of any new music. Some individuals had scruples about singing in a metre devised by man, and others were puzzled with the question whether it was lawful to read the Psalm to be sung in public worship. The above queries were considered and discussed by the learned divines of the period.

For sixty years after many of the earliest churches were gathered in New England, not more than ten tunes were used. These were written in the psalm books or Bible, and were often repeated once or twice in the services of a single Sabbath. In most cases, the psalms were sung in rotation, without regard to the subject of the discourses. After a time, music had been so much neglected, that but few congregations could sing more than five or six tunes. These were Oxford, York, Litchfield, Windsor, St. David's, and Martyr's. In cases where the metre did not suit the tune, one or two words of the line were omitted, to overcome the difficulty. During the disputes and contentions of the Puritan Churches, the cultivation of music was neglected, the use of notes fell into disrepute, and no two of the singers kept time together. In the quaint language of a writer of the times, Rev. Mr. Walter, of Roxbury, every melody "was tortured and twisted, as every unskillful throat saw fit." The singing sounded "like five hundred tunes roared out at the same time," producing noises "so hideous and disorderly, as is far beyond expression."

About the year 1700 a reform in church music was commenced in Massachusetts, which made slow progress for a time, but an improvement was effected, not, however, without great opposition in many quarters. The attempts made to reform and improve the music in the Puritan churches produced a great excitement. Some parishes were divided into parties upon the question of singing by "note," instead of "rote," and in many towns the parties were so equally divided upon the question, that a compromise was made, and half the psalms were sung in the old and half in the new way. According to all accounts, the best singing in the Massachusetts Colony for a hundred years after its settlement was in the Indian churches. Mr. Eliot translated the psalms into Indian verse. Copies of this work are extant, but not a human being can read them. They are an interesting relic of the past, but are literally a sealed book. The Indian church music is described as being "excellent singing of psalms, with most ravishing melody." Frequent mention is made by Puritan writers of the "excellent singing of the Massachusetts Indians."

We shall next consider the reformation in music in the Puritan churches during the period from 1700 to 1770. To show the spirit of the times, we will quote from a writer in Massachusetts a hundred and fifty years ago. "Truly," said he, "I have a great jealousy that, if we once begin to sing by *note*, the next thing will be to pray by *rule*, and preach by *rule!* and then comes Popery!"—*Boston Transcript.*

BOOKS AS A MEDICINE.

I say, then, that books, taken indiscriminately, are no cure to the diseases and afflictions of the mind. There is a world of science necessary in the taking them. I have known some people in great sorrow fly to a novel, or the last light book in fashion. One might as well take a rose-draught for the plague! Light reading does not do when the heart is really heavy. I am told that Goethe, when he lost his son, took to study a science that was new to him. Ah! Goethe was a physician who knew what he was about. In a great grief like that, you cannot tickle and divert the mind; you must wrench it away, absorb, bury it in an abyss, hurry it into a labyrinth. Therefore, for the irremediable sorrows of middle life and old age, I recommend a strict chronic course of science and hard reasoning—counter-irritation. Bring the brain to act upon the heart! If science is too much against the grain—for we have not all got mathematical heads—something in the reach of the humblest understanding, but sufficiently searching to the highest, a new language—Greek, Arabic, Scandinavin, Chinese, or Welsh! For the loss of fortune, the dose should be applied less directly to the understanding. I would administer something elegant and cordial. For as the heart is crushed and lacerated by a loss in the affections, so it is rather the head that aches and suffers by the loss of money. There we find the higher class of poets a very valuable remedy. For observe, that poets of the grander and more comprehensive kind of genius have in them two separate men, quite distinct from each other—the imaginative man, and the practical, circumstantial man; and it is the happy mixture of these that suits diseases of the mind, half imaginative and half practical. There is Shakspeare, who, above all poets, is the mysterious dual of hard sense and empyreal fancy, and a great many more, whom I need not mention; but who, if you take to them gently and quietly, will not like your mere philosopher, your unreasonable stoic, tell you that you have lost nothing; but who will insensibly steal you out of this world, with its losses and crosses, and slip you into another world before you know where you are! a world where you are just as welcome, though you carry no more earth with you than covers the sole of your shoe. Then for hypochondria and satiety, what is better than a brisk, alternative course of travels, especially early, out-of-the-way, marvelous legendary travels! How they take you out of the hum-drum, yawning state that you are in. And for that vice of the mind which I call sectarianism—not in the religious sense of the word, but little, narrow prejudices that make you hate your next-door neighbour, because he has his eggs roasted when you have yours boiled; and gossiping and prying into people's affairs, and backbiting, and thinking heaven and earth are coming together, if some broom touch a cobweb that you have let grow over the window-sill of your brains—what like a large and generous mildly-aperient course of history! How it clears away all the fumes of the head! better than the bellebore with which the old leeches of the middle ages purged the cerebellum.

But, when some one sorrow that is yet reparable, gets hold of your mind like a monomania; when you think, because Heaven has denied you this or that, on which you had set your heart, that all your life must be a blank—oh! then diet yourself well on biography, the biography of good and great men. See how little a space one sorrow really makes in life. See scarce a page, perhaps, given to some grief similar to your own; and how triumphantly the life sails on beyond it. You thought the string was broken! Tut, tut, it was only a bruised feather! See what life leaves behind it, when all is done! a summary of positive facts far out of the region of sorrow and suffering, linking themselves with the being of the world. Yes, biography is the medicine here!—*Bulwer.*

AMERICAN PARTNERSHIP.

Surely it is a great comfort and encouragement to us to have the sympathy of our American kinsmen in the struggle whereon we are entering with the Power of Tyranny and Barbarism, and there is something very cheering in the sentiments thus expressed by General J. Watson Webb, writing in the *Times* to dissipate fears for the invasion of our commerce by privateering enterprise on the part of his fellow citizens:

"The contingency to which I allude, as being the only one which could prompt an interference in European affairs, is, I sincerely hope, very far distant, but which should never be lost sight of in England, and which may ultimately be averted altogether by its being constantly kept before the world—I mean a combination of the Continent at some future day against England as the great embodiment of constitutional liberty in Europe That day may come. How soon, if ever, He alone knows in whose hands are the destinies of nations. But come when it may, our interests and our feelings will alike combine to make us come to the rescue We shall come, it may be, from a conviction that in fighting your battles we are contending for the cause of constitutional liberty. Our plea or our excuse for coming may be self-preservation; but in such a contingency come we will: and be assured that the youthful giant—for we shall be a giant before that day arrives—will not come the less willingly, or strike less effectively, because his strength will be put forth in behalf a parent, who, if she was not always a kind mother, gave to us our Anglo-Saxon blood, and sent us forth deeply imbued with her laws, her literature, and her love of constitutional liberty."

The Americans will help us fight the Battle of Freedom if need be—in the meanwhile, we have their best wishes. So far from being inclined to molest us with privateers, their hearts are so much with our cause that we may venture to propose to them an undertaking in the nature of a private speculation, to be directed against the enemy, in which they might join us. There is one of the most remarkable men in the States, to whom, we trust, our proposal will be seen by no manner of means a bad notion. The suggestion we would offer, more particularly for the consideration of that distinguished individual, is that of raising a sum of money sufficiently large to purchase the Emperor Nicholas of the Russian nation, which will, no doubt, in a short time be glad to sell him. We calculate that the amount required will not be exorbitant. Indeed we expect that his subjects will be too happy to take any bid for their Emperor, when they find that it is necessary, at all events, to get rid of him. They will naturally prefer disposing of him at some little profit to clearing him off like mere ballast. Perhaps they will accept a figure for their Czar not much above the quotation of a pretty valuable nigger.

Having bought Nicholas at a vile price, boots and all, the enterprising speculator might take him about the country in a caravan, and show him, as an extraordinary monster, in the principal towns in Great Britain and the Union, after which he might be shipped over, and exhibited at Constantinople, whereby there is every just reason to believe that in a comparatively short time a considerable fortune would be realized. Everybody would go to see the greatest monster in the world—a monster greater than the Missouri Leviathan or the Sea-Serpent. We do hope that that eminent man in our eye with regard to this project will think well of it. He has raised himself to a high degree of opulence and social position by showing Lions; but he would elevate himself several notches higher if he could manage to exhibit the Russian Bear. Having now indicated this promising scheme of business, we commend it to the serious attention of Barnum.—*Punch.*

WORDSWORTH'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

* * * * "And '*what like*'—to use a Westmoreland as well as a Scottish expression—'*what-like*' was Wordsworth? A reviewer in 'Tait's Magazine,' noticing some recent collection of literary portraits, gives it as his opinion that Charles Lamb's head was the finest amongst them. This remark may have been justified by the engraved portraits; but, certainly, the critic would have cancelled it, had he seen the original heads—at least, had he seen them in youth or in maturity; for Charles Lamb bore age with less disadvantage to the intellectual expression of his appearance than Wordsworth, in whom a sanguine complexion had, of late years, usurped upon the original bronze-tint; and this change of hue, and change in the quality of skin, had been made fourfold more conspicuous, and more unfavourable in its general effect, by the harsh contrast of grizzled hair which had displaced the original brown. No change in personal appearance ever can have been so unfortunate; for, generally speaking, whatever other disadvantages old age may bring along with it, one effect, at least, in male subjects, has a compensating tendency—that it removes any tone of vigour too harsh, and mitigates the expression of power too unsubdued. But, in Wordsworth, the effect of the change has been to substitute an air of animal vigour, or, at least, hardiness, as if derived from constant exposure to the wind and weather, for the fine sombre complexion which he once wore, resembling that of a Venetian senator or a Spanish monk.

"Here, however, in describing the personal appearance of Wordsworth, I go back, of course, to the point of time at which I am speaking. He was, upon the whole, not a well-made man. His legs were pointedly condemned by all female connoisseurs in legs, not that they were bad in any way which *would* force itself upon your notice—there was no absolute deformity about them; and undoubtedly they had been serviceable legs beyond the average standard of human requisition; for, I calculate, upon good data, that with these identical legs Wordsworth must have traversed a distance of 170,000 to 180,000 English miles—a mode of exertion which, to him, stood in the stead of alcohol and all other stimulants whatsoever to the animal spirits; to which, indeed, he was indebted for a life of unclouded happiness, and we for much of what is most excellent in his writings. But, useful as they have proved themselves, the Wordsworthian legs were certainly not ornamental; and it was really a pity, as I agreed with a lady in thinking, that he had not another pair for evening dress parties—when no boots lend their friendly aid to mask our imperfection from the eyes of female rigorists—those *elegantes fomarum spectatrices.* A sculptor would certainly have disapproved of their contour. But the worst part of Wordsworth's person was the bust; there was a narrowness and a droop about the shoulders which became striking and had an effect of meanness when brought into close juxtaposition with a figure of a more statuesque build. Once on a summer evening, walking in the Vale of Langdale with Wordsworth, his sister, and Mr. J——, a native Westmoreland clergyman, I remember that Miss Wordsworth was positively mortified by the peculiar illustration which settled upon this defective conformation. Mr. J——, a fine towering figure, six feet high, massy and columnar in his proportions, happened to be walking, a little in advance, with Wordsworth; Miss Wordsworth and myself being in the rear; and from the nature of the conversation which then prevailed in our front rank, something or other about money, devises, buying and selling, we of the rear-guard thought it requisite to preserve this arrangement for a space of three miles or more; during which time, at intervals, Miss Wordsworth would exclaim, in a tone of vexation, 'Is it possible?—can that be William? How very mean he looks!' And she did not conceal a mortification that seemed really painful, until I, for my own part, could not forbear laughing outright at the serious interest which she carried into this trifle. She was, however, right, as regarded the mere visual judgment. Wordsworth's figure, with all its defects, was brought into powerful relief by one which had been cast in a mire square and massy mould, and in such a case it impressed a spectator with a sense of absolute meanness, more especially when viewed from behind, and not counteracted by his countenance; and yet Wordsworth was of a good height (five feet ten), and not a slender man; on the contrary, by the side of Southey, his limbs looked thick, almost in a disproportionate degree. But the total effect of Wordsworth's person was always worst in a state of motion. Meantime, his face—that was one which would have made amends for greater defects of figure. Many such, and finer, I have seen amongst the portraits of Titian, and, in a later period, amongst those of Vandyke, from the great era of Charles I., as also from the court of Elizabeth and of Charles II., but none which has more impressed me in my own time."—*De Quincey.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

M. J. Rubini, the celebrated singer, has just died at Romano in his 60th year.

—— The Count Thibaudeau, member of the Senate, died on Friday in Paris at an advanced age. He was the last surviving member of the Convention who voted for the death of Louis XVI.

—— Messrs. Candler and Burgess, two members of the Society of Friends, have published an account of a visit to Brazil. The present Emperor, they say, is a fine tall young man, twenty-six years of age; having what is termed the Braganza countenance, on the whole somewhat handsome. He speaks several languages, among them the English, which he appears well to understand. As to the Slave Trade—very much to their surprise they found it not only entirely suppressed, but to use their own language, "detested" by the native Brazilians. Every one they met "agreed in assuring us that the African Slave Trade to Brazil is honestly suppressed;" and greatly, as it seems, to the advantage of the Brazilians

—— The Shakspeare Bellows.—The poet